

IRELAND, INDIA AND NATIONALISM IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY LITERATURE

JULIA M. WRIGHT

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In this innovative study Julia M. Wright addresses rarely asked questions: how and why does one colonized nation write about another? Wright focuses on the way nineteenth-century Irish writers wrote about India, showing how their own experience of colonial subjection and unfulfilled national aspirations informed their work. Their writings express sympathy with the colonized or oppressed people of India in order to unsettle nineteenth-century imperialist stereotypes, and demonstrate their own opposition to the idea and reality of empire. Drawing on Enlightenment philosophy, studies of nationalism, and postcolonial theory, Wright examines fiction by Maria Edgeworth and Lady Morgan, gothic tales by Bram Stoker and Oscar Wilde, poetry by Thomas Moore and others, as well as a wide array of non-fiction prose. In doing so she opens up new avenues in Irish studies and nineteenth-century literature.

JULIA M. WRIGHT is Canada Research Chair in European Studies at Dalhousie University. She is the author of *Blake, Nationalism, and the Politics of Alienation* (2004), the editor of Lady Morgan's *The Missionary: An Indian Tale* (2002), and the co-editor of three essay collections on nineteenth-century literature. Her articles on Irish literature have appeared in various essay collections and such journals as *Éire-Ireland, ELH*, and *European Romantic Review.*

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CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK
Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521868228

First published in print format 2007

ISBN-13 978-0-511-53973-2 eBook (EBL)

ISBN-13 978-0-521-86822-8 hardback

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Acknowledgments

My thanks and acknowledgments must start with the beginning of this book many years ago in a richly rewarding graduate course with Balachandra Rajan on representations of India in English literature. The course not only lies at the distant origin of this study but also led me, through Professor Rajan's discussion of Morgan's *The Missionary*, to the complex literary world of nineteenth-century Ireland and thus much of my research over the last decade. My gratitude to Professor Rajan is indeed profound.

In more practical but no less significant terms, this book was made possible by the generosity of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Canada Research Chairs Program and, in the early stages of the research, the Government of Ontario through the Polanyi Prize I received in 1997. My reading in pre-1900 Irish literature is largely thanks to these granting organizations and the archives which their funding of research travel allowed me to access. The British Library in particular is a monument not only to the written word but also to the spirit of intellectual generosity, and for this I thank both the institution and its always helpful staff. Further archival research was completed at the University of Western Ontario's Weldon Library, Concordia University's Vanier Library, and Dalhousie's Killam Library, to which I also extend my gratitude. The Tri-University Libraries and the NovaNet Libraries made possible the secondary research necessary to this study and I would like to acknowledge in particular the Interlibrary Loan departments of those library systems for so efficiently shuttling dozens, if not hundreds, of books and articles to me over the years. I am also grateful to James Allard, Holly Crumpton, and Sylvia Terzian for their hard work and astute research assistance at various stages of this project.

I am very grateful indeed to Linda Bree for all that was involved in seeing this book through the review process and beyond, and to the series editor, Professor Gillian Beer, and the anonymous readers of the

manuscript for their generous and constructive suggestions. I also thank early readers of part of Chapter 4, which first appeared as "Lewis's 'Anaconda': Gothic Homonyms and Sympathetic Distinctions," *Gothic Studies* 3 (2001), 262–78. Over the years, my work on Irish literature in general and this project in particular has benefitted from many other generous scholars, including Claire Connolly, Leith Davis, Dennis Denisoff, Jeanne Moskal, John Waters, and especially Elizabeth Sauer and Ina Ferris.

Beyond the compass of any one project is my deep and ongoing debt to Tilottama Rajan, from whom I continue to learn so much, including the value of both theoretical precision and a surprised giggle. Thanks as well to Joel Faflak for many hours of "loitering long and pleasantly" that make manifest why Romantic poets viewed conversation as so crucial. Above all, and always, my thanks to Jason Haslam, for everything and every day, with special commendations here for constant encouragement, listening as I rehearsed my arguments, and providing invaluable input on draft sections even when he was busy with his own books.

Introduction: Insensible Empire

"I see, not an East-India bill, but a *West-Britain* bill preparing for dissolving not only all principles of constitution, but the constituency itself; for removing the seat of government *for ever* from the soil, and eternizing the provinciality and servitude of my country [Ireland], under an administration unalterably English."

William Drennan, *A Letter to the Right Honorable William Pitt* (1799)

"We trace the spirit of Milesian poetry to a higher source than the spring of Grecian genius; for many figures in Irish song are of oriental origin; and the bards who ennobled the train of our Milesian founders, and who awakened the soul of song here, seem, in common with the Greek poets, 'to have kindled their poetic fire at those unextinguished lamps which burn within the tomb of oriental genius.' "

Sydney Owenson (Lady Morgan), *The Wild Irish Girl* (1806)

"The beauteous forms, the dazzling splendours, the breathing odours of the East, seem at last to have found a kindred poet in that Green Isle of the West, whose Genius has long been suspected to be derived from a warmer clime, and now wantons and luxuriates in these voluptous regions, as if it felt that it had at length regained its native element."

Anon., Rev. of Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh* (1817)

While scholars have dealt in some detail with Romantic and Victorian orientalism, and postcolonial studies in general have dealt extensively with colonial and imperial literatures, little attention has yet been paid to the ways in which nineteenth-century writers from colonized nations wrote about colonization beyond their own borders. Ireland, as England's first and nearest colony, offers us a unique opportunity to open up such an investigation. When the British Empire began to expand rapidly in the eighteenth century, Irish writers could respond to that expansion by drawing on a centuries-old national tradition of cultural responses to

colonialism and foreign invasion. They also had unique access to British readers and publishers because of a shared cultural economy facilitated by both geographical proximity and a language shared after centuries of colonial domination. Irish authors could thus participate in the print culture of the metropole, operating within what Jürgen Habermas terms "the public sphere" on terms that often vex any simple division between colonizer and colonized.[1] Examining, therefore, not only Irish writing about Ireland, but also Irish writing about India and British writing about Ireland and India, I shall argue, helps us to triangulate the complex relationship between British and Irish literary traditions as well as further explore the means by which members of an internal colony might engage public debate in the metropole about political sovereignty, modern nationalism, and the imperial project.

This study is primarily concerned with literary works as rhetorical and imaginative responses to the imperial project, particularly the ethical questions and representational problems that such a project raises. It is consequently historicized but not historical in its objectives. Simply put, literature has a history of its own that sometimes draws materials from social and political history but does not necessarily concern itself with accurately depicting real people, actual experiences, or the facts of history. Literary responses to the imperial project might sometimes represent colonial experience or events of imperial history, but they also include thematic investigations of ethical questions, alternatives to current imperial strategies, imaginative accounts of possible consequences, and so forth. It is, however, essential to remain "historicized" within the cultural field. The shifting "horizon of expectations" defined by Hans Robert Jauss grasps the complex ways in which myriad elements of culture – religion, politics, print culture, oral culture, literary traditions, legislation, assumptions about class, gender, race, nation, and so forth – shape representation and interpretation, including, as Hayden White has made clear, the representation and interpretation of material history.[2] Hence, in the remainder of this introduction, I shall outline some of the crucial contexts and framing concerns of the larger study, including some of the historical connections between India and Ireland after 1780. More importantly, I shall introduce the key rubrics available to the writers I shall discuss for framing similitude and difference on terms relevant to situating Ireland in relation to both the metropole and to India.

The most important rubric for this study is Enlightenment sensibility. Offering a framework within which to imagine a fundamental similitude between human beings that is grounded in sympathy and affect rather

than a shared culture, sensibility provides a philosophical basis for transcending divisions such as "race," "religion," and "nation" in ways that both trouble imperial hegemony and facilitate cross-cultural identifications such as those which Irish writers pursue in various texts about India. Moreover, through its foundational position in Enlightenment models of justice and morality, sensibility also provides a basis upon which to argue for national merit – and hence the right to sovereignty – that is independent of political power or divine sanction. Instead of relying on "might makes right" or historical authority, nationalists could claim the moral highground through the sensibility of the people and the insensibility of their opponents. This is a two-edged sword: the colonized could be represented as sensible and so morally superior to their insensible conquerors, and vice versa. The ambiguity of the word "empire" in this introduction's subtitle, "insensible empire" – drawing on both empire as power and empire as the site on which power is exercised – is thus intentional. Like nationalism itself, sensibility could be used to authorize both the exercise of imperial power and attempts to resist it.

IRELAND, INDIA, AND THE METROPOLE

Joep Leerssen, a ground-breaking scholar of nineteenth-century Irish literature who has been publishing in the field since the 1980s, has recently lamented the appropriation of Edward Said's influential *Orientalism*, and more broadly the category of the postcolonial, by Irish studies over the last two decades.[3] His concern about this appropriation points to the foundation of my study: Ireland's position within Europe makes a parallel between Ireland and the "Orient" problematic even as such an identification acknowledges a long history of Irish writers who rhetorically aligned Ireland with the "East."[4] The irreducibility of Ireland to a binary model of imperial domination is a recurring concern in Irish Studies today. One collection of essays on Irish history asks the question, *An Irish Empire?*, in order to address the complicated ties which bind Ireland to the metropole and then involve it in British imperial expansion, while Stephen Howe's recent, highly controversial, study, *Ireland and Empire*, rests largely on the relative uniqueness of Ireland within British imperial history in order to separate Ireland from discussions of coloniality.[5] After half a millennium of English rule, Ireland by the 1800s was significantly though unevenly assimilated into British dominant culture; many in Ireland, particularly in urban areas, were native English speakers as well as Protestant, government employees, and/or tradespeople dependent on

British and imperial markets, and Ireland provided personnel for the British military as well. As a further complication, the dominant power was redefined over the same period – from England, to England and Wales, and then Britain (England, Wales, and Scotland) after the 1707 Act of Union. (For the sake of succinctness, I shall generally refer to the post-1707 ruling state as Britain, the pre-1707 ruling state as England, and to the four nations and geographical regions of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland as the British Isles.) Irish nationalists throughout the long nineteenth century argued against policies which discriminated against those who were not fully assimilated, including non-Anglicans, Irish speakers, native industries, agricultural interests, and so on. All of this, and more, distinguishes Ireland from other British colonies. Leerssen addresses this bugbear of recent Irish studies:

> Indeed, I think post-colonialism, as a critical agenda and approach, is misapplied to Ireland, not just because of the general objection that Anglo-Irish relations were never really "colonial" in the proper sense of the word, but more precisely because Ireland, unlike colonies *sensu stricto*, as a European country, has participated in the nineteenth-century tradition of romantic nationalism.[6]

This is a valuable call to caution, but its binary logic risks going too far: "the proper sense of the word" colonial is historically contingent and even historically disputed. Lying behind this and other critiques of the application of postcolonial theory in Irish studies is a foreshortening of the history and space of empire that stresses colonization outside of Europe, especially in the nineteenth century, and so fails to recognize the ways in which "romantic nationalism" emerged in Europe in part to resist imperial domination.

Ireland might seem unique in the relatively exclusive focus of British imperialism, but it is far from it in the larger context of European imperialism. A fuller account of the "postcolonial" and the history of European empire is needed to fully engage the impact of romantic nationalism in the West, for nationalism in Europe arose in part because of colonization *within* the continent. The Congress of Vienna in 1814–1815 – where the British government was represented coincidentally (or perhaps not) by two Anglo-Irish military men, Castlereagh and Wellington – formalized the division of Europe into five empires. The Russian, Prussian, French, Austro-Hungarian, and British Empires ruled most of Europe; political sovereignty and in varying degrees political representation was denied to many regions that are now recognized as European nations, including Italy, Germany, and Norway. A sixth empire,

the Ottoman, ruled the eastern edge of Europe, including Greece and the Balkans. The "Young Europe" movement of the 1830s was in significant measure a loose affiliation of anti-imperial groups, and was fostered by Giuseppe Mazzini, a leader of the "Young Italy" nationalist movement termed treasonous by the power which dominated then-fragmented Italy, the Austro-Hungarian Empire. However, Mazzini suggested that, without a unifying language distinct from its oppressor's, Ireland could not belong to "Young Europe," even as Irish nationalists used the name "Young Ireland" and invoked Italian patriotism as a kindred cause.[7] In other words, there were nationalist movements within Europe claiming nationhood against an imperial oppressor and, moreover, they were themselves disputing what precisely constituted "colonies '*sensu stricto*' " within nineteenth-century Europe. We miss much in the history of ideas on this subject if we obscure that debate with a rubric developed in the twentieth century.

This is not to suggest that imperial domination in Europe was the same in degree or kind as that beyond Europe, but military conquest, administrative rule, and political disenfranchisement do remain broadly consistent. There are further similarities, too, such as the trading of colonies back and forth due to shifting power relations and negotiations between European imperial powers. Denmark ceded Norway to Sweden in the wake of Napoleon's defeat (1814), for instance, while the British toehold in India arguably began with the transfer of Bombay from Portugal to Britain as part of Catherine of Braganza's dowry on her marriage to Charles II (1661). Further, the history of colonization within Europe was, in earlier periods, nearly as brutal as it was outside of Europe in the nineteenth century. Leerssen acknowledges that "Ireland can perhaps be described as a colony during the period from 1540 to 1690" because of economic, political, and territorial exploitation.[8] But if we glance at Oliver Cromwell's conquest of Ireland in 1649–1652, we see much uglier colonial practices: Cromwell massacred civilians after military battles, sent thousands of survivors into slavery in the West Indies,[9] and seized large tracts of land. After 1695, a range of laws forbade Catholics not only the free exercise of their religion but also property rights and other broadly civil rights that would soon be defined under the Enlightenment. Those laws, known as the Penal Laws or Penal Statutes, were somewhat ameliorated over the ensuing decades, but remained in force until Catholic Emancipation in 1829. Instead of considering Ireland as failing to be colonial on the terms that non-European nations were colonial during the height of British imperial power, we need to question more thoroughly the

utility of binary formulations in order to grasp more fully the complexity of an imperial history that reaches across, and builds upon, different historical moments, geopolitical situations, imperial ideologies, and discourses of resistance. The present study works in the space between the either/or alternative, seeking to explore the ways in which Irish authors recognized, and even argued for, Ireland's difference from non-European colonies such as India while also engaging the similarities in their position.

One of the key differences between India and Ireland under British rule is a matter of chronology. While eighteenth-century Ireland had already experienced centuries of colonial domination, India at the same time was largely free of British rule. In 1800, much of India was still ruled by the Maratha (Mahratta) Confederacy; British rule, though greatly expanded from the few ports it governed in the early eighteenth century, was limited to the edges of the subcontinent. The destabilization of the Mughal Empire in India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as inter-European competition for key ports and coastal regions in India, precipitated changes that redrew the map of the subcontinent. The British succeeded in pushing out most other imperial competitors from Europe and during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries would extend their dominion over the subcontinent despite considerable difficulties. Sultan Tipu's armed opposition to British domination in India in the 1780s and 1790s overlapped with the impeachment of Warren Hastings, Governor General of the East India Company, from 1787–1795, and was followed by a series of military conflicts, from the "Vellore Mutiny" of 1806 and the Mahratta Wars to the Anglo-Afghan Wars and the so-called "Indian Mutiny" of 1857–1858. Then the British faced growing political agitation for independence, drawing in part on the principles of nationalism, in the latter part of the century. After the impeachment of Hastings failed, and despite heavy losses during the first Anglo-Afghan War, the British busily accumulated other colonies in the region, expanding British India's borders to include Sri Lanka (then Ceylon) in 1796 and what is now Burma incrementally from 1824 to 1886, as well as adding the Seychelles (1810), Singapore (1819), Hong Kong (1841), Brunei (1888), Kuwait (1899), and myriad others, as well as extending their dominion in the subcontinent of India.

There are strong reasons for linking Ireland and India within the genealogy of British imperial discourse despite these differences in colonial timelines. Historian Joel Berlatsky argues that attention to "the place of Ireland in the British Empire" has tended to focus on comparisons between Ireland and the United States, but "equally important

insights can be gained by examining Ireland in relation to India or to African colonial areas."[10] The historical ties between India and Ireland are more than conceptual. Throughout various conflicts after the middle of the eighteenth century, the British empire not only had the same legislators and goverment functionaries making decisions about both India and Ireland but also deployed the same personnel in both colonial arenas. In one of the more striking instances, Lord Cornwallis, who defeated Sultan Tipu, was brought out of retirement to deal with the aftermath of the 1798 Irish uprising, and was celebrated in an 1804 tale by Anglo-Irish author Maria Edgeworth for his actions in India (see Chapter 2). More crucially, though, such migrating personnel figuratively parallel the circulation of ideas of coloniality, effective administration, and empire. As David Lloyd notes, "The metaphors that justified Britain's colonialism in the East clearly have parallels in the discourse on the 'internal colony' of Ireland;"[11] or, put more bluntly, the imperial enterprise recycled its rationalizations, applying them to various colonies as needed. In the period considered by this study, both India and Ireland were high on the colonial agenda and were frequently discussed together in print culture as such. Moreover, there is a cultural basis for such connections: as literary scholars such as Leerssen and Joseph Lennon have established, Irish orientalist scholarship and literature also pursued, across centuries, myriad connections between Ireland and the "East."[12]

Edmund Burke is perhaps Ireland's best-known and most widely studied writer on India. He pursued the Hastings Impeachment through lengthy speeches as a member of the British Parliament and, as Luke Gibbons has recently discussed, represented India and Ireland as similarly victimized.[13] Of Burke's alternating between writing projects on Ireland and on India, Gibbons writes, "It is as if the energies of one were transferred to the other, and then used in turn to revitalize the original, a form of sympathetic contagion."[14] Such similes and sympathies are limited, however, because nineteenth-century Ireland also teeters on the crux of the binary oppositions which form the foundation of contemporary British imperialist rhetoric: it was depicted as European but exotic, Christian but Catholic, literate but culturally impoverished, enfranchised but colonized, and white but feminized (with all of the shifting connotations embraced by these broad terms).[15] As a consequence, orientalist discourse and the politics that it serves become more complicated when they are mobilized by writers located in that internal colony. Leerssen suggests that "There is an orientalist tradition within Anglo-Irish literature in the nineteenth century; but while it partakes of

mainstream 'English' orientalism as studied by Said, it also differs from this mainstream tradition, for there is a continuing tendency to self-orientalization. This means that in Ireland more than elsewhere we must be prepared to register an affinity with the Orient."[16] If, as Reina Lewis argues, "women's differential, gendered access to the positionalities of imperial discourse produced a gaze on the Orient and Orientalized 'other' that registered difference less pejoratively and less absolutely than was implied by Said's original formulation,"[17] so too did the "differential . . . access" of Irish writers turn back on the Orientalist gaze. Moreover, Ireland and India were differently positioned in British imperial discourse, particularly as that discourse became more rigidly and overtly racialized, so we can also see complications arising when India and Ireland are paired in British texts, such as Matthew G. Lewis's "The Anaconda" (see Chapter 4). In short, Ireland was represented in Irish and British writing as both like India and not like India in ways that are entangled with various discriminations and relationships forged discursively between India, Ireland, imperial Britain, and what William Drennan termed "the universality of *independent* countries."[18]

Independence is a crucial term in literary responses to the political and historical turmoil briefly sketched above. For whatever we term the practices through which Britain extended and maintained power in Ireland, Ireland was neither sovereign nor culturally identical to Britain, and Irish writers frequently concerned themselves with imagining a way out of precisely that bind. While we might dispute what constitutes the essential features of a colonized nation, or indeed if such a definition is possible or critically desireable, colonialism fundamentally refers to measures that usurp an indigenous sovereignty. Economic exploitation, political oppression, and territorial seizure all flow from this one fundamental condition. Seizing sovereignty not only makes such acts legally defensible and practically possible but also conceptually imaginable. According to John Locke, "Wher-ever . . . any number of Men are so united into one Society, as to quit every one his Executive Power of the law of Nature, and to resign it to the publick, there and there only is a *Political, or Civil Society*. And this is done wher-ever any number of Men, in the state of Nature, enter into Society to make one People."[19] To deny a society's sovereignty is, in effect, to deny the sovereignty of the individuals in that society (Locke's "Executive Power") and to do so on terms that facilitate state violence against, as well as differential legal rights and limited suffrage for, these supposedly unsovereign subjects. Indeed, the emphasis on Irish Catholics as "Papists" in this period

and the ongoing disenfranchisement of Irish Catholics contributes to such a representation of them as unsovereign. In many anti-Catholic depictions, Catholics obey the Pope, not Civil Society or individual will, and do so as a matter of faith rather than reason. The Lockean relationship between individual and national sovereignty also, however, makes possible literary treatments of the problems of colonialism that focus on characters who synecdochally represent the people or nation as a whole, as in the national tale.

The 1800 Act of Union abolished the Irish Parliament and brought Ireland under the direct rule of the British Parliament, thus formally ending Irish political sovereignty. Almost immediately, the national tale arrived on the literary landscape as a sub-genre of the novel in which the conventions of the marriage plot or the *bildungsroman* served the further purpose of exploring cultural differences and the possibility of reconciliation between a dominant and an oppressed national group. The variety of national tales published in the early 1800s – from Lady Morgan's *The Wild Irish Girl* (1806) to Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley* (1814), W. S. Wickenden's *Bleddyn: A Welch National Tale* (1821), and, for an American example, Catherine Read Williams' *Aristocracy, or the Holbey Family* (1832) – testify to the flexibility of the genre. The national tale is adaptable to various political positions, time periods, and national contexts even though its material origins are traceable to an historical event fixed in time and space, namely the 1800 Act of Union. The flurry of national tales in the early nineteenth century, many of them popular enough to be reprinted in multiple editions, points to the ways in which the Act of Union provoked authors and readers to wrestle with the larger questions it raised, as in, for instance, Scott's use of the form to deal with the difficulties which followed an earlier Act of Union, that with Scotland in 1707. Material history at such moments functions as a spur to cultural production: it sparks debate not only on specific events but also on related issues, thus altering the course of literary production even when it is not itself an object of representation.

The national tale is a salient example for my purposes because it also arises in relation to modern nationalism. While there were ideas of nationality long before 1800, modern nationalism emerged across Western cultures during the latter years of the eighteenth century as a new way of thinking about political sovereignty and cultural community. Whether we follow Ernest Gellner in ascribing the emergence of modern nationalism to the Industrial Revolution or Benedict Anderson and Anthony D. Smith in viewing the French Revolution and Napoleonic

expansionism as the catalysts, it remains clear that a populist, culturally centered notion of nationality caught fire in late eighteenth-century Europe.[20] Sovereignty no longer lay with the monarch or, by extension, the government, but with the people as a whole on quasi-Lockean terms; nationalism was Lockean insofar as it viewed sovereignty in relation to the people, but not in its insistence on the uniformity and univocality of the people.[21] In nationalism, the people are determined by their nationality, not the other way around. Further, the notorious ideological fluidity of nationalism – amenable to both liberatory movements and fascism – made it possible for nationalism to define various positions in the colonial debate. Nationalism was used to mobilize support for British imperial expansion, and it provided a basis for the intensification of Irish resistance to colonial rule through the populist nationalist organizations of the 1780s and 1790s and then the struggle for Catholic Emancipation in the 1820s. Because it made culture central to national identity, moreover, nationalism cleared an ideological space for literary genres, such as the national tale, in which the relationship between culture and nationality could be explored.

A STRANGE NEIGHBOUR: AT THE LIMITS OF MIMICRY

While it is important to move beyond classifying Ireland as either a colony or not, it is also vital to grasp the ways in which the island was multiply located within often conflicting geopolitical perspectives salient to different debates at the time. Ireland was discursively and politically understood as a region on the edge of both the transatlantic sphere and Western Europe, as a culture within both the British Isles and Catholic Europe, and as a nation among both subjugated European nations and British colonial possessions.[22] Leerssen's note of caution about the Europeanness of Ireland remains, however. It is particularly essential to keep in mind that the Irish writers discussed in this study were generally no more familiar than their British counterparts with the details of British colonization in India or India itself. Indeed, the sources and facts that they cite suggest that they knew more or less what the British knew about India because they read the same orientalist texts, newspaper reports, and journal articles – and they in turn helped to shape British understandings of India through such popular Irish orientalist texts as Morgan's *The Missionary* (1811). As a consequence, the historical details of British India are less relevant to this study than the cultural responses

within the British Isles to colonization and the ethical problems raised by it.

For this reason, English-language literature is a necessary focus for this study. English-language Irish literature speaks out of and to a readership that was largely trained in British cultural traditions, while the Irish-language tradition remained largely a tradition apart from the philosophical and literary grounds on which the nationalist debate proceeded. Particularly important in this era are the conventions of literary sensibility and their grounding in the Scottish Enlightenment's ethical framework or, as Adam Smith put it, the "theory of moral sentiments." The pre-eminence of sensibility in the English-language literary tradition is indisputable, running through poetry from the Graveyard School to the Romantic poets as well as becoming entrenched in prose narrative forms during the early decades of the novel via Samuel Richardson and Sarah Fielding in the 1740s.[23] Critiques of sensibility began to emerge almost immediately in works such as Charlotte Lennox's *The Female Quixote* (1752), but the sentimental novel and the ethics of sensibility remained a force in British and Irish letters. Irish author Frances Sheridan was best known not for her plays but for her sentimental novel, *The Memoirs of Miss Sidney Bidulph*, published in both London and Dublin in 1761, a novel that was republished in each subsequent decade of the eighteenth century and counted Richardson among its enthusiasts. Her compatriot Laurence Sterne is the author of *A Sentimental Journey* (1768) and, of course, *Tristram Shandy* (1760–1767). As we shall see in the chapters that follow, sensibility is traceable throughout Irish literature of the next half century as well.

Enlightenment philosophy simultaneously influenced political thought. Echoes of Locke resound through Irish writing in English, from William Drennan's *Letter to the Right Honorable William Pitt* (1799) to Morgan's *The O'Briens and the O'Flahertys* (1827).[24] Drennan, responding to the Act of Union which would bring Ireland under the direct rule of the British Parliament in the following year, imagines something akin to the United Nations to manage the sovereignty of nations:

> I do assert that the great perfection of this sublunary system would be such a law of nations, recognized and supported, as might cover the universality of *independent* countries, fulfilling their duties and asserting their rights, with its tutelary authority, defending the weakest from the most ambitious, and guaranteeing to all the full possession of their independence, under the ægis of a common power.[25]

While Drennan is responding to the events of the late 1790s, he is also drawing on the Scottish Enlightenment and, of course, the English language and its rhetorical conventions in articulating that response. Locke in particular is explicitly cited and implicitly the foundation for his utopian view of a community of nations, as Drennan vows not to let "the principles of John Locke wither in [his] hand, or in [his] heart."[26] David Hume and Adam Smith are similarly ubiquitous, with lesser lights such as Henry Home (Lord Kames) making occasional appearances as well in this body of writing.

The engagement with English-language culture in Britain is not a simple matter of colonial mimicry, as Homi K. Bhabha defines it, because of what Young Irelander Thomas Davis termed in the 1840s "the filtered colonisation of men and ideas."[27] Focussing on "post-Enlightenment English colonialism," with which the present study is also concerned, Bhabha describes mimicry as a means by which the colonized are encouraged to appropriate the behaviours and values of the dominant culture while it remains clear that they can never belong to the dominant class, in part because the logic of mimicry ascribes presence to the colonial subjects and offers only masks to the colonized abjects. "Mimicry is like camouflage," Bhabha writes, "not a harmonization of the repression of difference, but a form of resemblance, that differs from or defends presence by displaying it, in part, metonymically. Its threat, I would add, comes from the prodigious and strategic production of conflictual, fantastic, discriminatory 'identity effects' in the play of a power that is elusive because it hides no essence, no 'itself.' "[28] Bhabha's formulation has been challenged in recent years but remains useful as an articulation of a theory of difference mobilized in this era's colonial discourse – it is also a theory that is put under strain by the Irish example in suggestive ways. Anne McClintock notes, "Contrary to some critics, I do not believe that Bhabha means to suggest that mimicry is either the only, or the most important, colonial phenomenon. . . . Nonetheless, for Bhabha here colonial authority appears to be displaced less by shifting social contradictions or the militant strategies of the colonized than by the formal ambivalence of colonial representation itself."[29] I recognize the cogency of McClintock's critique, and the value of her acknowledgment that Bhabha is identifying an effect rather than the hallmark of colonialism, but it is precisely mimicry's connection to "the formal ambivalence of colonial representation itself" that makes it a useful term for my purposes. Colonial Ireland thwarts the definitiveness that modern racism and proto-anthropological notions of cultural

difference would claim: the Irish are European, predominantly Christian, comparable in education and literacy to their British counterparts, and have a similarly structured economy and society.

If Ireland is, from the British perspective, a "strange country" or "anomalous,"[30] it is precisely because it does not easily and thoroughly fall into the binary categories of either otherness or sameness. It is not, like India, "beyond the pale of representation" in colonial romance.[31] Nor is the manner of its ethnographic or popular representation readily grasped as another demonstration of Bhabha's point that "the objective of colonial discourse is to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction."[32] There are notorious cartoons in the Victorian period of the Irish in simian form, and the stereotype of the drunken Irishman quickly rose in the nineteenth century, but these icons are relative latecomers to anti-Irish discourse.[33] While eighteenth-century concepts of "race" and "national character" are traceable in writings on Ireland, they do so as supplements rather than as originary determinants of colonial discourse in Ireland, piling onto medieval and Renaissance formulations of "barbarity" that draw not on "degeneracy," like Victorian slurs, but on prior concerns with linguistic competence (in English, of course), fashion, manners, and social order. By the eighteenth century, moreover, a few generations after Cromwell and in the wake of the Enlightenment circulation of the idea of a universal humanity with varying degrees of education and cultural training, Ireland follows Wales and Scotland into the English imaginary as a rural backwater rather than an alien space. As McClintock notes in her brief discussion of the ways in which the Irish challenged the "chromatism" of British colonial discourse, the "*domestic* barbarism of the Irish" was used "as a marker of racial difference," part of an "iconography of *domestic degeneracy* [that] was widely used to mediate the manifold contradictions in imperial hierarchy."[34] Ireland was not only multiply located within different geopolitical spheres, but also variously denominated within a British Isles geography – colony, internal colony, and province.

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century representations of the Irish frequently, though not exclusively, draw on stereotypes of provincialism: the superstitious peasant, the boorish farmer, the incompetent estate manager, the inhabitants of the slovenly home that McClintock identifies with "domestic barbarism," or the yokels with whom urbane characters must contend when they flee ignominy by disappearing into the rural periphery. Conversely, from Drennan's 1799 critique of the

Act of Union (see the first epigraph to this chapter) to Thomas Meagher's 1842 speech in favour of repealing that Act, "West Britain" was used rhetorically to contest the representation of Ireland as a province of Britain. Meagher asks, "Shall this ancient Irish town be degraded into an English borough? – and will you, its citizens, sacrifice your principles and your name, embrace provincialism, and henceforth exult in the title of West Britons?"[35] Ireland holds an ambivalent position within post-colonial studies precisely because it is partly representable in domestic terms as a distant province, disabling the various totalizing discourses (stereotype, romance, racism) which came to support the British imperial project as well as offering a limit case of the mimicry that exposes the "double vision which in disclosing the ambivalence of colonial discourse also disrupts its authority."[36] One conventional device for negotiating Ireland's ambivalent status as both province ("West Britain") and distinctive country is the partition of Ireland into Anglicized urban and unAnglicized rural spaces; thus, in such novels as *The Wild Irish Girl* and Charles Robert Maturin's *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820), the protagonist's journey from Dublin to a rural Irish space figures a descent from the familiar to the strange and incomprehensible (literally incomprehensible, in part, because of linguistic difference). And this doubled national-provincial status also simultaneously problematizes the nationalist discourses which emerged in nineteenth-century Ireland. National character, as a basis for the nation's coherence and distinctness, risks reifying the racism which was increasingly validating the imperial project. Antiquarian or bardic nationalism risks authenticating imperialist charges of primitiveness – an element of imperial discourse that is, anachronistically, still with us in the OED's definition of colonialism as "freq[uently] used in the derogatory sense of an alleged policy of exploitation of backward or weak peoples by a large power."

As Lloyd has ably argued in such works as *Nationalism and Minor Literature* and *Anomalous States*, the specifics of Ireland's colonial condition make it impossible to incorporate it into English narratives of social order and, I would stress, into the character types upon which such narratives depend. The complex lines of affiliation which criss-cross nineteenth-century Ireland constantly undermine the kinds of discriminations which would turn colonial subjects into the romance-types of devoted followers or despairing expatriates, or even committed anti-imperialists or earnest mimics. As Srinivas Aravamudan notes in a survey of colonial authors, including the Irish anti-colonial author Jonathan Swift, "none of these figures can be readily characterized as colonialist

villains or anticolonial heroes."[37] Consequently, while Bhabha's analysis relies upon the impossibility of mimicry rising to identity, the lack of discernible difference between the Irish and the British was a topos of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Irish literature. For instance, in Thomas Sheridan's *The Brave Irishman*, staged throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, Betty remarks of "Irishmen" that they have "as much politeness and sincerity as if born in our own country."[38] In an 1812 play by Sheridan's daughter, Alicia Lefanu, a family that is prejudiced against the Irish (mis)recognizes an Irishman as English, while insisting that they could spot an Irishman instantly; after the hero's true nationality is revealed, they accept him into the family and disavow their former prejudice.[39]

Ireland thus demands a complication of the binary formulations on which much nineteenth-century imperial discourse, and modern analyses of it, often tacitly depend. Instead, the positioning of Ireland in relation to the metropole and the larger empire can usefully be grasped through John Barrell's model of "this/that/the Other." In his important study of Thomas De Quincey and orientalism, Barrell writes,

> There is a "this," and there is a something hostile to it, something which lies, almost invariably, to the east; but there is an East beyond that East, where something lurks which is equally threatening to both, and which enables or obliges them to reconcile their differences. The translation of the London poor, experienced as oppressive, into "the enormous population of Asia," may already have provided an example of the process used to make safe more serious threats. . . . It may be the representation of the poor as oriental, when they are experienced as "oppressive," that enables them to be experienced also as "sympathetic": whatever is bad about them is characterized as exotic, as extrinsic, as not really them at all, with the effect that they are separated from, and contrasted with, their own representation as oriental. There are the cities of London and Westminster; there is the East End [of London]; and there is the East.[40]

This model allows us not only to deal with the shifting position of "this" in relation to "that" and "the Other," but also with the complex allegiances of "that" when constituted within this tripartite and fluid order. To move away from the specifics of Barrell's argument – De Quincey's representation of the London poor in relation to metropole and orient – the category of "that" can arguably embrace various imperially constituted categories, including the native informant, the colonial agent "gone native," the colonial mimic, the offspring of colonizer and colonized, and so forth. These categories frequently function in imperial discourse as medial states through which the imperial master narrative must pass in

order to reconstitute the stabilities of "this/the Other." Kipling's Irish Kim, for instance, reinforces imperial administrative power by "passing"[41] as Indian in order to function effectively as a spy for the British Raj, maintaining colonial order precisely by occupying a position that moves easily between colonizer and colonized without fully belonging to either one. Similarly, in Bram Stoker's *The Lair of the White Worm*, an "Anglo-Burmese" character helps to protect the flower of English womanhood until Saxon order can be reestablished.

If Ireland is "that" – European but colonized, Christian but not Protestant, rebellious but providing soldiers and administrators for the British Empire – the question then becomes whether "that" is best described as allied with "this" or "the Other." And herein lies the nub of much nineteenth-century Irish anti-colonial writing in English. In some texts, Ireland is sufficiently "like" Britain that it does not require colonial administration; it can, in almost Althusserian terms, work by itself within European modernity without losing itself entirely in British national identity.[42] In other texts, however, identifying Ireland with other colonial spaces, particularly those which, like India, were more subject to emerging racist paradigms, makes possible the dramatization or defamiliarization of colonial abuses in Ireland. Thus, at stake in many of the texts considered in this study is the consolidation of "that" through the transformation of its relationships with "this" and "the Other" without collapsing the medial (and sometimes mediating) figure of Ireland into one of the polarized categories. This fluid middle category retains Irish distinctness from both the metropole and the new colonies and so can be used to argue both for Irish autonomy and the impropriety of colonial dominance in Ireland.

SENSIBILITY: NATIONAL FEELING AND COLONIAL SYMPATHY

Crucial to the new models of nationality and international relations emerging around 1800 is the powerful discourse of sensibility that appeared in English-language literature and philosophy in the early 1700s. While I shall discuss sensibility and Irish nationalism at greater length in Chapter 1 and revisit this issue in subsequent chapters, it is important here to introduce briefly its relationship to imperialist discourse. Broadly speaking, sensibility posits that sympathy with others' feelings, especially pain, is the basis for benevolence, justice, and other "social virtues." If we see someone in pain, we imagine their suffering and so are motivated to end it. This capacity is universal, but the more refined the sympathy the more

refined the morality, and vice versa. To imagine another's pain and then to act to end that pain is a fundamentally moral act; not to do so is "insensible" and necessarily immoral. This provides a basis for a "fellow feeling" (in Adam Smith's phrase) between the citizens of an oppressed nation and between oppressed nations. While more reactionary texts often identified Ireland and India as colonial trouble spots marked by religious division and violent disorder,[43] key anti-imperial Irish writers identified India and Ireland as bound by sympathy because of their shared oppression – a sympathy that rhetorically puts morality, if not might, on their side. As James Clarence Mangan writes in an address to the "youths of Ireland" in the 1840s,

> Gentler gifts are yours, no less,
>   Tolerance of the faults of others,
>   Love of mankind as your brothers,
> Generous Pity, Tenderness,
> Soul-felt sympathy with grief:
>   The warm heart, the winged hand,
> Whereso suffering craves relief.
> Through all regions hath your fame
>   For such virtues long gone forth.
>   The swart slave of Kaffirland,
>   The frozen denizen of the North,
> The dusk Indian Mingo chief
>   In his lone savannahs green,
>   The wild, wandering Beddaween
> 'Mid his wastes of sand and flame;
> All have heard how, unsubdued
>   By long centuries of sorrow,
>   You still cherish in your bosoms
> The deep Love no wrongs can slay.[44]

I have quoted this passage at length because it neatly lays out the premise that feeling is the basis for both national virtue and international relations between oppressed nations, putting Ireland into a feeling community of the colonized that encompasses a variety of orientalized groups. Leerssen has persuasively argued that Irish orientalist discourse in the eighteenth century situated Ireland in an anti-imperial genealogy that runs counter to the imperial tradition of Greece, Rome, and Britain.[45] But Mangan's emphasis on feeling, especially "Soul-felt sympathy with grief," grounds the basis for this association in the Scottish Enlightenment's philosophy of sensibility which, as subsequent chapters of this study will demonstrate, helped to shape Irish nationalism in

the nineteenth century. As British and Irish writers addressed the place of Ireland in a growing and increasingly racist British Empire, sensibility proved a useful tool for imagining, and polemically addressing, the complexities of Irish affiliations with both the metropole and with more distant colonies.

As a universalist model of subjectivity that seeks to articulate the social relations which unite the polity for the common good, Enlightenment sensibility helps us to investigate the theoretical apparatuses which work against imperialist discriminations in nineteenth-century culture. While Enlightenment writing on sensibility could be ethnocentric and often crudely racist, it nevertheless assumes that sympathy, as a mode of identification rather than differentiation, is the engine that drives a just, moral society. The literature of sensibility can often be, to our post-modern eyes, rather cliched or maudlin, but this social and moral framework gives a reason for its rhetorical excesses – affect is crucial, and so the literature must be affecting. Sensibility offered writers, particularly in the "Age of Revolution," a means by which to solicit support and sanction various causes, including abolition, child-labour reform, women's rights, and the French Revolution. The intensity of their language must, in the logic of sensibility, match the rightness of the cause and be powerful enough to motivate active support.

While pro-imperial texts argue for a pedagogical mode of assimilation akin to what Bhabha terms "mimicry," sensibility proposes that there is a fundamental and universal sameness which culture – necessarily learned, artificial, and specific – can obscure or refine. This sameness, moreover, does not depend upon the processes of recognition upon which postcolonial theories such as Bhabha's that draw from psychoanalytical theory tend to rely. Sensibility takes as its starting point – quite literally in Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* – the premise that every individual can recreate, through the imagination, the feelings of another. Sameness thus does not lie in physiological features or behaviours – as identifications associated with the specularity of the Lacanian mirror-stage demand – but in a capacity for forging a sympathetic bond with one who suffers that, in many of the works considered here, *supersedes* the specular differences stressed by imperial discourse.[46] But that sympathetic bond must be demonstrated through bodily effects and behaviours (weeping, meaningful looks, benevolent actions) that are culturally governed and visible. Hence, the final chapters of Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* demonstrate the ease with which thinkers could segue from sympathy to specular difference, beginning with a universal human subject and then

creating exceptions for those subjects who belong to different cultures. Broadly speaking, in the romance-related works that are the focus in Part I of this study, cross-cultural identification is enabled by the developing recognition of this essential sameness and the subsequent rendering of cultural and ethnic difference as arbitrary and superficial, though no less meaningful to the universalized feeling subject precisely because of attachment to family, friends, and community. The wedding of a young woman to her lover's father, threatened execution, wrongful imprisonment, open rebellion – these are the moments at which authors pit divisive cultural mores against visceral identification. In the gothic texts considered in Part II, however, the proximity of identification is always a threatening one: they tend to suggest that this imaginative capacity is a dangerous vulnerability, providing access to the psyche of the otherwise defended subject.

Crucial to both romances and gothic narratives is the involved spectator who experiences the collapse of self and other in a moment of emotional crisis. In his compelling analysis of Burke's theory of sensibility, Gibbons suggests,

> In its classic formulations in Scottish Enlightenment ethics, the operation of sympathy presupposes communal boundaries and a common culture, or, if it extends beyond this, a renunciation of local or national allegiances in favour of a "generalized other," or "impartial" standard of humanity. In both cases it involves homogeneity or sameness, either of our own community or that of a universal human nature. Burke's procedure, by contrast, is to prevent the absorption of the (concrete) particular into the (abstract) universal by bringing two particularities into contact through the sympathetic shock of the sublime. Hence the passion of local allegiances – the love of "our little platoon" – is not restricted to our own community but brought to bear on our concern for justice in other cultures, by virtue of their particularity or difference from us.[47]

If Burke allows sympathetic identification with the Other while still "discerning in the most elemental experiences of pain the inscriptions of cultural difference," then he paves the way for the recognition of the pain that arises from "the breaking of common social or cultural codes."[48] Cultural difference, in other words, can be acknowledged within Burkean sensibility and even given a supplementary frisson by what Gibbons terms the "sympathetic sublime," an emotional jolt which "enabled vital expressions of cross-cultural solidarity without recourse to the abstract rationality of universal rights, the ethical projections of an 'impartial spectator.'"[49] It is such a "sympathetic sublime" which marks such texts as Morgan's *The Missionary* and Denis Florence MacCarthy's "Afghanistan."

The roots of sensibility lie deep in nineteenth-century English-language Irish culture, in part because, as we shall see in Chapter 1, late eighteenth-century nationalist movements drew on Enlightenment models of the polity as one forged through sensible connections. The United Irishmen movement of the 1790s, a nationalist organization with urban, Protestant origins that attempted to forge alliances with rural, Catholic groups, drew heavily on Enlightenment thought and thus helped to intensify the use of sensibility in Irish nationalist discourse: the nation coheres and gathers its moral right to exist as a sovereign state through the feelings of sympathy which unite its subjects across the divides of language, religion, and class. In his section on "Patriotism" in *Sketches of the History of Man* (1774), Home considers the implications of sensibility for Enlightenment notions of nationhood and national feeling, arguing that "patriotism is connected with every social virtue; and when it vanishes, every virtue vanishes with it."[50] Moreover, "Patriotism is enflamed by a struggle for liberty, by a civil war, by resisting a potent invader, or by any incident that forcibly draws the members of a state into strict union for the common interest."[51] This model informs Irish nationalist discourse from United-men Drennan and Charles Hamilton Teeling to Morgan and Thomas Moore, and it demands that patriotic feeling sanction political action and call for readerly sympathy for the patriot's cause. As I argue in Chapter 3, religion takes an important place in this body of literature, not as a faith but as one of the means by which the colonizing power brutalizes the feelings of the colonial community: tales of missionaries and holy wars conceptualize official policies of religious intolerance as mechanisms which produce keenly suffering subjects with whom the reader is to sympathize.

Sensibility, however, like nationalism, is not immune to ideological complication or reversal. The presumption of universality required the explanation of different cultural values and behaviours as the consequence of corrupted or underdeveloped sensibility. So, while Adam Smith begins with the claim, "How selfish soever man may be supposed, there are evidently some principles in his nature, which interest him in the fortune of others, and render their happiness necessary to him," he later contends, "Every savage . . . is in continual danger. . . . He can expect from his countrymen no sympathy or indulgence for such weakness [i.e., feelings]. Before we can feel much for others, we must in some measure be at ease with ourselves . . . and *all savages* are too much occupied with their own wants and necessities, to give much attention to those of another person."[52] Sensibility could be used, on the one hand, by Teeling to condemn the agents of British imperialism as unfeeling

(see Chapter 1) and, on the other hand, by Lewis to represent indigenous peoples as immorally self-serving (see Chapter 4). Sensibility tends to be used in such texts through a binary juxtaposition in which the unfeeling are contrasted with the feeling: Teeling's Irish citizens are sympathetic and sensitive, while Lewis's colonizers are so sensitive to others that they are rendered fragile. In both, however, sensibility defines civility and otherness in relation to the sympathetic bond between individuals rather than structures related to a collectivity, such as religion, state, technology, or military might.

Moreover, the increasing pathologization of feeling after the 1820s worked to undermine the efficacy of sensibility as a means of authorizing political claims.[53] Outraged patriotism was then transmuted into hot-headedness, melancholy for the state of the nation into weepiness, and a willingness to fight for national freedom into a predisposition for brutish violence. This was possible because sentimental nationalism argues for an end to imperial domination in part by forging tools out of imperialism's abjects. Feminization allows fuller participation in sentimental discourse, and a readier call to readerly assistance: as Nancy Roberts has argued, the suffering subject in sentimental discourse is typically female, and the sympathetic observer male.[54] The exotic rendering of the nation stresses its distinctness and thus the incapacity of the colonizers to properly understand and so effectively respond to the colonial subject or administer the colonial territory. Further, the poverty and disenfranchisement of the people attenuates the suffering which keeps patriotic feeling alive. In writings about India during the same period, these revalued terms reappear. William Jones and his followers argue that cultural distinctness had to be protected and understood for the imperial mission to succeed; Alexander Dow proposes that respecting religious freedoms would facilitate political control, contending that "The Hindoo religion, in other respects, inspires the purest morals. Productive, from its principles, of the greatest degree of subordination to authority, it prepares mankind for the government of foreign lords"[55]; and justifications of imperial domination represent the British military rescuing feminized Indians from the rapacious Mughals, and Hindu women from *sati*. While these terms are mobile – potentially both supporting Irish nationalism and condemning the Irish as unruly, both authorizing the protection of Indian culture and subjugating the Indian people – their prevalence in the debate over the proper course of nation and empire reveals their importance as Britain and the British empire was reimagined in the wake of the loss of the American colonies in 1776.[56]

Authors might align sensibility with particular collectivities, but this branch of Enlightenment thought makes possible a counter-imperial discourse that, while still troubled by reversibility and its connection to Enlightenment discourses of racial and social hierarchies, refuses to fall neatly into the conventional terms of post-1800 British imperialism.

SYMPATHY OR HORROR: IMAGINING INDIA AND IRELAND

This study is divided into two parts. The first focuses on sentimental literature in which colonial-imperial contact generates affect, via sensibility, and hence the promise of social harmony. The second addresses gothic literature, on terms which loosely relate to Patrick Brantlinger's codification of the "imperial gothic" as a body of writing concerned with the impossibility of such understanding and harmony.[57] The gothic, of course, has its generic origins in the romance and both enact processes of incorporation: the difference lies in who eats who. In the romance, the dispensation that a text privileges gathers difference into itself to re-create the organic totality which it claims to represent – thus, Morgan's *The Missionary*, for instance, teaches the title character and by extension the novel's readers that moral sentiments are universal and unite humanity despite apparent differences. In the gothic, the Other threatens to chip away at the unity of the privileged order: it perverts or disrupts, adds or takes away, through figures of illicit genealogies, cannibalism, disease, criminal violence, and so forth. The unique position of Ireland in the British Empire during the time of its retrenchment after the American Revolution and then rapid expansion is expressed through both modes on terms which reflect back not only on the political positioning of author and audience, but also on the engagement of imperialist and nationalist discourse with these modes of narrative incorporation.

The importance of romance to the imbrication of nation and empire in colonialist narratives is well-established.[58] As Sara Suleri cogently remarks, "In negotiating between the idioms of empire and of nation, the fiction of nineteenth-century Anglo-India seeks to decode the colonized territory through the conventions of romance, reorganizing the materiality of colonialism into a narrative of perpetual longing and perpetual loss."[59] This model, while it leads to generative readings of British texts about India, becomes doubled and fractured when the perspective is marked as Irish. Then there is not one colonized territory to "decode," but two; the nation which the romance seeks to validate does not arise from the imperial metropole but is disabled by it; and the postponements of

romance echo throughout the geographical imaginary, from nation to empire, rather than being specific to the newly colonized space. Still, in the Irish writing about India considered here, "India," to a significant degree, is not India per se but the surface of a mirror sufficiently distorted to make what it reflects nearly unrecognizable. Rampant Anglicanism is transmuted into Islam, Catholic devotion into Zoroastrianism or Hinduism, and early capitalist economic exploitation into Portuguese or Spanish mercantilism.

Three of the most prominent Irish writers of the first third of the nineteenth century – Morgan, Moore, and Maturin – used such equivalences to set Irish problems in a nominally Indian setting. Economic predation, religious intolerance, and military imperialism are opposed to sensibility by these authors, and dramatized in the terms of the orientalist East. The moral compass of sensibility was by then well-fixed and familiar, and loosed of cultural specifics it was readily moved from one region of the globe to another. This emphasis on Enlightenment "moral sentiments" does not fully cancel out the orientalism of these texts or the aspects of their representations that bolster the imperial agenda. Nor did it turn out to be a particularly successful strategy. But sensibility does bring the orient, and Ireland, into the civil fold, as it was defined in eighteenth-century thought of the sentimental school, and so counters, at least in its early stages, both the rising representation of the East as uncivilized and, perhaps more critically, the claim that British Christians have a monopoly on proper feeling. By the Victorian period, however, sensibility was increasingly pathologized and so later Irish writers, such as Mangan, MacCarthy, Oscar Wilde, and Stoker, draw on similitude more than sympathy, and morality more than moral sentiments, while still attending to the problem of colonized nations within the context of international rather than simply British imperial history.

In order to trace some of the contours of this dynamic discursive field, I begin Part I with a chapter that examines the cooperation between Enlightenment sensibility and Irish nationalist discourse in Charles Hamilton Teeling's 1828 account of the 1798 Irish uprising and the condition of political prisoners in the late 1790s. Teeling imagines a nation that is sympathetically connected in practical ways, allowing the circumvention of colonial mechanisms from the military command structure to the prison walls and the administration of the courts. Rebellious only because oppressed and passionate about the nation's cause, Teeling's Irish people embody Home's sentimental nationalism. Moreover, published in 1828 by a liberal publisher in London, just as

Catholic Emancipation was being hotly debated, Teeling's account also seeks to arouse its readers' sympathy for Ireland's condition, and thus support for the amelioration of that condition through such measures as Emancipation. In Chapter 2, I elaborate on the operation of sensibility in the debate over Ireland's colonial status through an examination of Morgan's *The Wild Irish Girl* and a selection of Maria Edgeworth's texts in relation to the representation of Ireland as feminine in texts by such writers as Moore, Drennan, and others. While Morgan imagines the training of the English colonial agent's sensibility by the sentimental heroine, Edgeworth masculinizes colonial subjects through English training in commerce and loyalty. Through a mechanism similar to Bhabha's mimicry, a concept to which I thus return, these subjects approach Englishness while remaining subordinate to it. The third chapter focuses on the two most canonical Irish texts about India from the period – Morgan's *The Missionary* and Moore's *Lalla Rookh* – as well as the relatively ignored disquisition on an Indian convert by William Hamilton Drummond. These works are examined in the specific terms of the writers' representation of resistance to such training in mimicry via religious feeling. In Morgan's and Moore's texts, a religion interwoven with the cultural and emotional life of the community is the immoveable object which reveals that proselytization is neither an irresistible force nor, ultimately, a desireable goal. For Drummond, however, the sentimental compass is redirected to point towards religious conversion as a heroic sacrifice of worldly, affective connections in the name of reason.

In Part II, economics and the gothic rather than erotics and romance are brought to the fore. Chapter 4 considers tales in which the colonial space is represented as the source of wealth. In *Ennui* and "Lame Jervas," the first set in Ireland and the second in India, Edgeworth offers, as the ideal resolution of the colonial situation, the restoration of land to an indigenous aristocracy after a brief training period supervised by a properly benevolent English mentor. In "The Anaconda," however, Lewis draws a clear distinction between India and Ireland. English ladies can dance with Irishmen, and English gentlemen are outcast if they are accused of seducing and murdering an Irishwoman, even an improperly desiring and murderous one. The larger region of India, however, is the site of insensible monstrosity: populated by disloyal servants and the rapacious anaconda, it saps the strength and the will of the English settlers. In Chapter 5, I turn from colonial spaces to colonial time in investigating the ways in which the gothic fragmentation of history served a colonial historiography in contrast to a British historiography

in which steady progress consistent with an auspicious origin is the founding assumption. In Morgan's essays on absenteeism and Maturin's gothic novel, *Melmoth the Wanderer*, conquest is depicted as an intervention in the proper course of history, persistently derailing national and narrative progress. In "The Tale of the Indians," an embedded narrative in *Melmoth the Wanderer* that dominates the novel, Maturin entangles a variety of national histories, placing Ireland and India within a global imperial narrative. A generation later, MacCarthy employed a similar historiographic model to critique the extension of British imperial activity into Afghanistan. With Chapter 6, the study moves to the late-Victorian era to examine novels by Oscar Wilde and Stoker that suggestively engage the Romantic concern with affect and imperial wealth. Wilde follows De Quincey in mapping the orient onto London's East End, locating his elite English hero between the imperial lucre of the West End and the suffering of the abjected East End. Stoker, however, follows the tradition of romance in imagining, rather like Edgeworth, a benevolent resolution to colonial alienation: his heroes, one Australian and the other Scottish-Irish-English, find a place in empire by fighting for English interests. My conclusion considers the ways in which Kipling's *Kim* figures the ongoing, but still partial, elision of India and Ireland in the British imperial imagination, tying this quintessentially imperial text not forward to E. M. Forster but backward to a century of Irish writing about India.[60]

PART I

National Feeling, Colonial Mimicry, and Sympathetic Resolutions

CHAPTER 1

"National Feeling" and Unfeeling Empire: The Politics of Sensibility

> "What did Spain feel for the murders or the robberies of the west?—nothing. And yet, at that time, she prided herself as much as England ever did on the elevation of her sentiment, and the refinement of her morality. Yet what an odious spectacle did she exhibit?—her bosom burning with all the fury of rapine and tyranny; her mouth full of the pious praises of the living God, and her hands red with the blood of his innocent and devoted creatures."
>
> John Philpot Curran, "Speech of John Philpot Curran, Esq., in Defence of Mr. John Hevey, Plaintiff; Charles Henry Sirr, Esq. Defendant. On an Action for Assault and False Imprisonment. Court of King's Bench" (17 May 1802)

The epigraph above, from United-Irishmen lawyer John Philpot Curran, vividly encapsulates the post-Enlightenment representation of sensibility as inextricably linked to morality on a national and imperial level as well as a personal one. My aim in this chapter is to explore the relationship between sensibility and "national feeling" in Ireland around 1800 through a range of texts before focussing on Charles Hamilton Teeling's 1828 account of the 1798 Uprising which was led by the United Irishmen in concert with other nationalist groups. While Teeling's account has been read as bad history, I shall argue that it is rather a polemic which draws heavily on sensibility and nationalism not to relay historical facts but to change hearts and minds.

In the 1790s, the Society of United Irishmen drew on Enlightenment discourses of sentiment and sovereignty to imagine a nation that naturally includes different regions, sects, languages, and classes, and hence has a right to a state that would respect that inclusiveness. Their model of an inclusive nation actively countered the divisiveness instituted by the Penal Laws and other colonial practices which assigned political and economic rights to a small minority within Irish society that was defined in ethnic, linguistic, economic, and sectarian terms. While the United Irishmen's impact on the actual politics of Ireland is a complex and perhaps

unanswerable question, they clearly had a significant impact on Irish nationalist literature in English by circulating through their many publications an Enlightenment understanding of the nation as a feeling community, bound by ties of sympathy. This model of the nation relies heavily on Enlightenment moral theory. In this view, the Irish national subject sympathizes with the suffering of Catholics under Penal Laws, the imprisoned nationalist, or the widows of the dead, and is also susceptible to a specifically national sentiment – a love of country that is predicated on a sympathy with other national subjects rather than a reverence for institutions, a commitment to a certain ideology, or an attachment to the land. It is, however, only one of many models of the nation to emerge in this period. Since these models were not insular, but often emerged dialectically in relation to each other, it is important to survey some of the dominant forms of nationalism at the turn of the century before addressing the confluence of sensibility and nationalism in Irish responses to colonialism around 1800.

ANTIQUARIAN AND INAUGURAL NATIONALISM

It is almost a commonplace in recent writings on nationalism that while its roots can be traced to earlier similar ideologies, the French Revolution and its aftermath acted as a catalyst to produce a distinctive -ism. In this context, the term, "nationalism," is generally used to refer to a sense of communal identity that includes a shared history, culture, and belief system, and often a particular language, as well as a concern for the collective good and sometimes claims to a particular territory.[1] But, as Benedict Anderson notes, this concept of a shared history has led to a paradox that thwarts attempts to produce a cogent theory of nationalism, namely "The objective modernity of nations to the historian's eye vs. their subjective antiquity in the eyes of nationalists."[2] As I have argued elsewhere, there are different versions of nationalism in the early decades of the phenomenon and while the one that came to prevail is, as the paradox suggests, at odds with modernity because of its investment in antiquity, there was another that fully engaged and depended upon the concept of modernity by proposing a decisive transformation that casts off the vestiges of feudalism and regional battles to usher in a new age of political enlightenment. These two forms of nationalism, which I term "antiquarian" and "inaugural," inform much rationalist, radical national politics in Romantic-era Ireland.[3] Antiquarian and inaugural nationalisms are radically temporal: the nation occupies a moment in

time, and the national agenda is framed as a desired movement along a timeline. Progress, nostalgic return, apocalyptic transformation, gradual reform – all propose the specific terms on which the nation will move from one historical moment to the next (or be prevented from doing so, as we shall see in Chapter 5). Antiquarian and inaugural nationalism, however, differ in their stances on the past. Antiquarian nationalism idealizes it, fantasizes a return to it, and circulates antiquities and antiquarian scholarship to propagate its ideological attachment to the distant past. Inaugural nationalism, however, seeks to transcend the past and move forward on a new track.

The "Celtic Revival" of W. B. Yeats, Lady Gregory, and their contemporaries repeats the terms and the investments of eighteenth-century antiquarian nationalism, from Charlotte Brooke's *Reliques of Irish Poetry* (1789), a heavily annotated collection of Irish-language verse that includes a heroic poem by Brooke, to John Corry's "The Patriot" (1797), a long poem in heroic couplets "Descriptive of an Invasion of Ireland by the Danes, and their Expulsion by the Irish."[4] Throughout the British Isles there was a rising interest in the non-English past: in Scotland, Robert Burns and Walter Scott were among the "nationalists interested in persisting evidence of a distinctly Scottish cultural tradition,"[5] following the success of James Macpherson's Ossianic material; in Wales, the Metropolitan Cambrian Institution (*Cymmrodorion*) was formed to investigate Welsh antiquities while Edward Williams produced informed forgeries of antique Welsh triads;[6] in Ireland, Sylvester O'Halloran and Brooke, among many others, explicitly presented their investigations of Irish pre-colonial culture as a nationalist defence against pejorative representations of the Irish. Antiquarianism and nationalism are philosophically linked through the Romantic ideology which Friedrich Schiller articulates in his essay, "On the Naive and Sentimental in Literature" (1795). The nostalgic desire to return to the prior cultural state, a state which is not only cultural but valorized as natural, "is what," Schiller suggests, "lies at the bottom of many of our fancies . . . for the country and its inhabitants, for many a product of distant antiquity."[7] Schiller links interest in regional rustics with an interest in antiquity, ascribing both to a nostalgia for a natural past that is defined by, and recoverable through, culture. Anthony Smith argues that one of the ideas which contributed to the formation of nationalism in the late eighteenth century is this "elevation of culture as the source of politics."[8] In this context, the historical authenticity of a work was not necessarily as important as its national authenticity, its legitimacy as a reflection of the national

character which achieved its fullest expression in the distant past and continues precariously in the present, particularly in rural areas, ready to be resurrected.[9] The distinction between historical authenticity and national authenticity is the hobbyhorse of antiquarian nationalism: both Macpherson's Ossianic works and Williams' triads occupy a disputed space between forgery and redaction, between modern fraud and the sorts of revision common and accepted in the oral cultures from which they emerged. Brooke sought to bridge the gap between the two by defensively including transcriptions of the Irish poems she was translating, as well as considerable editorial apparatus. But Macpherson's Ossianic corpus, Williams' triads, and Brooke's translations of Carolan continued to be significant as valid, if not historically authentic, articulations of the lost Celtic age.

As Leerssen has argued, pro-Celtic antiquarians even traced Ireland's cultural genealogy in a tradition distinct from that of northern Europe, descended from Phoenician or Greek culture but from not the Nordic and Roman martial nations valorized in contemporary Britain.[10] Antiquarian research, as a tool by which true and false Irishness could be delineated, genealogically differentiated from Englishness, and historiographically authenticated, was used to overturn negative Irish stereotypes in Ireland, as well as beyond. O'Halloran writes in the dedication to his *History of Ireland* (1774), "with the love of truth, and of my country, I have laboured to render justice to our ancestors which had been so long denied them, and to lay open to public view these annals. . . . For what avails it that Ireland should, in justice, rank foremost among the nations of Europe; and that her sons, for purity, antiquity, and nobility of blood, exceed all others, if these facts are not properly set forth?"[11] In the Preface to her *Reliques of Irish Poetry*, Brooke defines her antiquarian project as a nationalist one which will revive national pride by reminding the Irish that their glorious "ancestors [were] so very different from what modern prejudice has been studious to represent them."[12] But she also explicitly seeks to subvert that prejudice in Britain. Modifying the conventional invocation to the muse, Brooke begs the British and Irish muses to "entreat of Britain to cultivate a nearer acquaintance with her neighbouring isle. Let them conciliate for us her esteem, and her affection will follow of course."[13] Later, Morgan would employ a similar strategy in *The Wild Irish Girl*, using her antiquarian heroine to teach the English hero that Ireland's identity lies in its extensive history as a literate and heroic nation that was the centre of educated Europe in the dark ages, and not in its construction, by Britain, as an

impoverished, beaten colony on the periphery of Europe. Antiquarianism is itself marked as a feature of Irish culture. In *The Wild Irish Girl*, a servant is referred to as a "living chronicle" in the ancient tradition of those whose gaelic title Morgan translates as "antiquary."[14] Instead of positing universal rights and rational standards as the basis for political organization, such nationalism argues for a link between ancestry and culture, contradicting the position that culture is artificial. In this model, a society is not governed by globally legitimate, ahistorical paradigms but by an antique national culture that is properly handed down from generation to generation. To stray from that path is to lose touch with the proper culture; to retrieve the proper culture, the traditions must be identified, revered, and revived.

Such writers emphasize the antiquity of Irish culture and the conviction that Irish literacy pre-dates English literacy; moreover when they mention the pre-Irish origins of the culture, they look for those sources outside of northern Europe. The antiquarian framework, as well as occasional national comparisons, contends that Irishness is, on a fundamental level, that which is uncontaminated by, and prior to, Englishness. The United Irishmen, however, attempted to forge an Irish identity that was culturally but not politically hybridized; in a sense, they relied on (to re-work Anthony Smith's phrase) the elevation of politics as the source of culture, disseminating political theory via satire, ballad, and excerpts from the canon of radical philosophy, including the works of Locke and Thomas Paine.[15] By trying to unite the nation through a culture that was revolutionary and literate but non-sectarian, they subverted the division of the Irish into Gaelic-Irish Catholics and Anglo-Irish Protestants that was cultivated by the so-called Protestant or Anglo-Irish Ascendancy.[16] They sought to create an Irish identity (and, through the political and literary writings published in their newspapers, produced a body of texts to embody that identity) that would incorporate elements of English and Scottish culture as well into a renovated, anti-imperial Irish identity that was resolved to oppose assimilation from without as much as it was determined to integrate the factions within Ireland. The United Irishmen thus accepted the cultural mixing that colonialism had generated, while seeking to resurrect the political independence of pre-colonial Ireland and promoting the cultural sophistication that the antiquarians valorized for reasons drawn from the Enlightenment. The Society thus embraced Catholic and Protestant under the rubric of universal rights, and made its central aim "national self-determination,"[17] while accepting, in broad terms, a loose assemblage

of dehistoricized and non-sectarian Irish icons – the colour green, the shamrock, the name "Erin," and so forth. A United Irishmen proclamation in 1794, cited in Drennan's trial for sedition, exhibits such a mixing of revolutionary republicanism with national specificity: "the catholic cause is subordinate to our case, and included in it, for, as United Irishmen, we adhere to no sect but to society, to no creed but to Christianity, to no party but the whole people."[18]

The United Irishmen thus dealt, on a rhetorical level (pragmatically, of course, the situation was much more complicated), with the specifics of the Irish problem through the inclusive philosophical discourse of the inherent rights of the individual while defining the field of their political vision in national terms, creating an agenda that extended beyond mere "Jacobin cosmopolitanism."[19] Uniting a divided populace was critical. In "Erin," a poem credited with the first occurrence of the phrase, "the Emerald Isle," Drennan writes, "And where Britain made brutes now let Erin make men. / Let my sons, like the leaves of the shamrocks, unite – / A partition of sects from one footstalk of right."[20] Similarly, in his description of the events leading up to the 1798 uprising, Jonah Barrington writes that Ireland "had arisen from servitude to freedom, from a subservient to an independent Nation. . . . It was rather a regeneration, accomplished by the *almost unanimous* exertion of all the rank, the wealth, the character and the honesty of a vast population."[21]

After the failed uprisings of 1798 and 1803, and during the long fight for Catholic Emancipation, antiquarian and inaugural nationalisms were frequently turned into their dark opposites – a lament for a nation that will never be again, or will never be. In *Memoirs of Captain Rock* (1824), Moore represents the Act of Union as a piece of legislation which obliterated Ireland as a nation: "Forfeitures were, as we have seen, the price paid by Ireland for her former rebellions – and the forfeiture of her existence as a nation was the mulct imposed upon her for this."[22] In *The O'Briens and the O'Flahertys* (1827), Morgan, a friend of Moore's, shares such a perspective on the effects of colonialism on the national bond between the land and the people. Instead of the naturalized Irishness of *The Wild Irish Girl*, in which the people, in Joseph Lew's words, "are the heirs to and preservers of an ancient civilization,"[23] the Irish of *The O'Briens* are defined by their unnatural and immoral colonial condition – and by the poverty, ignorance, and antiquated beliefs that it perpetuates. The difference can be traced through the recurrence of the phrase, "natural and national," in Morgan's writings. Glorvina, the title character of *The Wild Irish Girl*, for instance, is described as having

a "character, which is at once both *natural* and *national*," and, in a volume of her poetry published the next year, Morgan describes herself as having a "natural and national character."[24] But when the phrase is applied two decades later to O'Brien, it is charged with parody and applied only to certain features rather than to his character as a whole: "With a temperament all Irish, and a character made up of those elements, which in the poetry of life form its sublime, but in its prose tend a little to the ridiculous, – impetuous and spirited, as the genuine Hibernian always is, petulant and fierce as a foreign *militaire* usually affects to be, – his natural and national qualities had been sharpened rather than subdued by a life of early excitement and vicissitude."[25] In an insistently developed counterpoint to the mainstays of antiquarian nationalism, Morgan denies in 1827 a positively defined or coherent Irishness: Irishness is instead repeatedly aligned with displacement and distortion through disinheritance and the denial of political rights as well as an untenable cultural and personal hybridity that is largely due to colonial intervention. Colonialism either annihilates the nation or arrests its development so that it cannot be brought into being, as we shall see in Morgan's essays on absenteeism.

The *Essay on Irish Bulls* (1802), written by Maria Edgeworth and her father, Richard Lovell Edgeworth, provides a revealing counter-example to such nationalist strategies. The Edgeworths claim to have the same aims as nationalist writers in their *Essay*, namely to educate their readers about the Irish and thereby eliminate negative stereotypes. But the Edgeworths explicitly devalue the antiquarian tradition and translate its central premise, the cultural sophistication of the Irish, into a different configuration of merit in which English standards are applied. While "profess[ing] to be attached to the country only for its merits," they dismiss O'Halloran as "the incensed Irish historian" and "acknowledge that it is a matter of indifference to [them] whether the Irish derive their origin from the Spaniards, or the Milesians, or the Welsh . . . [or] whether or not the language spoken by the Phoenician slave, in Terence's play, was Irish," explicitly discarding the grounds upon which nationalist antiquarians were seeking to establish an independent genealogy for Irish culture.[26] They then divide Irish letters into two groups:

> We moreover candidly confess that we are more interested in the present race of inhabitants than in the historian of St. Patrick . . . the renowned Brien Boru . . . or even the great William of Ogham; and by this declaration we have no fear of giving offence to any but rusty antiquaries. We think it somewhat more to the honour of Ireland to enumerate the names of some of the men of genius

whom she has produced: Milton and Shakespeare stand unrivalled; but Ireland can boast of Usher, Boyle, . . . Brinsley Sheridan, and Burke. (*Essay*, 186)

The lengthy first list contains only Gaelic-speaking personages from the pre-colonial period, while the second copious list contains only English-speaking authors from the post-Cromwell colonial period, omitting such famous Gaelic poets as Swift's contemporary, Turlough O'Carolan, whose work was included in Brooke's well-known *Reliques*. Instead, the Edgeworths begin with James Usher, who is remembered less for his *Biblical Chronology* (1650–1654) than for suppressing the Irish language as well as Irish schools that evaded colonial control,[27] and ends with Burke, who sat in the British Parliament and defended aristocracy in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790). Dividing prominent Irish figures into largely non-literate, Gaelic-speaking, pre-colonial heroes or saints and politely if at all rebellious, English-speaking, colonial authors neatly resolves English anxieties and refutes nationalist claims: it implicitly subverts the characterization of Ireland as an ancient seat of learning, while representing English literature as the standard by which all literacy is to be measured ("Milton and Shakespeare stand unrivalled"). It also identifies the Irish past as Catholic and martial, while purging those features from colonial Ireland. Following British imperial interests, it praises the Irish for their proximity to and value within *English* culture, and disregards the others as doing little for "the honour of Ireland" – a concise example of what Lloyd precisely describes as "the discrimination of those elements of the past which can be incorporated in a progressive narrative from those which must be relegated to the meaningless detritus of history."[28]

This strategy was not unique to the Edgeworths. For instance, an anonymous reviewer of John Philpot Curran's *Speeches* writes, in a conservative British periodical,

There is something very peculiar, and very well worth attending to, in the character of Irish eloquence. More vehement, and figured and poetical than any that is now attempted in this country, it aims almost always at dazzling the imagination, or enflaming the passions at least, as much as at enlightening the understanding. . . . Being the natural language of fearless genius and impassioned feeling, it will not always be found to express judicious sentiments, or correct reasoning. . . . We have ventured to give this as the character of *Irish* eloquence; – both because some portion of it seems to belong of right to every inhabitant of that country, and because we really do not know any remarkable instance of it that has not been produced by that people. . . . [I]t was introduced by an Irishman; and may be clearly traced to the genius of Burke. There was no such composition known in England before his day.[29]

The key statement, "Being the natural language of fearless genius and impassioned feeling, it will not always be found to express judicious sentiments, or correct reasoning," at once admits Irish feeling while locating it, with the "noble savage," on the margins of due moderation and rationality. And it is Burke, notorious for the overblown rhetoric of his reactionary *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, as well as his rhetorically powerful (and very long) speeches, who introduces this "*Irish* eloquence" to England. Just as the Edgeworths imply that post-Cromwell Irish authors who tried to work within an English tradition can be admitted to the English canon, as long as it is clear that they are subordinated to England's best writers, this anonymous reviewer argues that Irish influence on English "composition" is marked by a "natural language" that is neither logical nor moderate. Burke is a liminal figure in both lists: he is a "genius" in Ireland and the source of a new strain of injudicious rhetoric in England, revealing the ways in which Englishness and Irishness remain hierarchized and characteristically distinct in such evaluations of literary merit.

While Brooke asks the muses to tell Britain "that the portion of her blood which flows in our veins is rather ennobled than disgraced by the mingling tides that descended from our heroic ancestors,"[30] the Edgeworths imply that it is the English influence that is "ennobl[ing]."[31] Creditable Irishness is defined not by its independence from Englishness, but by its cultural, imperial, and economic dependence on England; its origin is not located in its pre-colonial past, but in Ireland's integration into the "United Kingdom," using the language, "industry," and "information" that lay behind English claims to modernity and civilization. While the antiquarian and assimilatory positions both use culture as the gauge of the nation, the United Irishmen sought to resurrect those pre-colonial political borders on post-colonial terms through a modern Irishness that was civic rather than tied to a specific culture. Sensibility in particular made it possible to forge social bonds under the rubric of nationalism without a shared language or ethnically defined cultural traditions.

SENTIMENTAL NATIONALISM

Sentimental nationalism offered a means by which to turn the negative impact of colonialism to national advantage. Because Enlightenment definitions of sympathy emphasize responses towards those who suffer, suffering itself, as an effect of colonialism, becomes a catalyst by which to forge the sympathetic bonds that will unite the people into a nation.

In *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), Adam Smith suggests, "Our sympathy with sorrow, though not more real, has been more taken notice of than our sympathy with joy. The word sympathy, in its most proper and primitive signification, denotes our fellow-feeling with the sufferings, not that with the enjoyments, of others."[32] Moreover, "our sympathy with sorrow is, in some sense, more universal, than that with joy" (*Theory*, 60). The universalist language of the literature of sensibility allows, or perhaps even requires, sympathy to cut across differences of class, gender, and culture: "the characters and conduct of a Nero, or a Claudius, are what no custom will ever reconcile us to, what no fashion will ever render agreeable; but the one will always be the object of dread and hatred – the other of scorn and derision"; further, "Though our effectual good offices can very seldom be extended to any wider society than that of our own country, our good will is circumscribed by no boundary, but may embrace the immensity of the universe" (*Theory*, 290, 345). Smith does proceed to suggest that "civilized nations" and "rude and barbarous nations" foster different categories of virtues (*Theory*, 297),[33] but, in general, moral theory of the period gives greater weight to universal notions of humanity than to variations within that category. This emphasis on what is common rather than what is different solves one of the central problems of Irish nationalist discourse. While contemporary theories of nationalism generally proposed a kind of genetic determinism in which one could speak of a "national character,"[34] the concept of "national character" posed a problem in an Ireland rendered heterogeneous by waves of colonization, religious and linguistic differences, and various other genealogical and cultural divisions. Sensibility, in short, made the pansectarian framework for the United Irishmen possible by allowing the claim that national *feeling* is what matters – not "national character."

This tends to be the case particularly when United-men emphasize the inclusion of Catholics in their national vision, that is, when attempting to bridge the widest cultural gulf in Irish politics, that between predominantly middle- and upper-class, Protestant, native English speakers and a predominantly lower-class Catholic constituency dominated by native Irish speakers. In his response to the "True History of the Battle of the Diamond," Charles Hamilton Teeling offers one of the more explicit articulations of this deployment of sentiment to supersede religious division. Giving the history of various armed nationalist groups, particularly the Peep-of-day Boys and the Defenders, Teeling describes the former as composed of "Protestant Dissenters" and the latter as, "in its

origin, of Roman Catholics. I use the qualified term, origin, because I may have occasion, hereafter, to show, that, as a great National crisis advanced, sectarian feelings gave place to sentiments of a more expanded nature – in the Union of Irishmen, of all religious persuasions."[35] Similarly, in his *Personal Narrative of the Irish Rebellion of 1798*, Teeling describes a Catholic opposed to the United Irishmen but not active in its repression as "not deficient in personal courage, nor insensible to the feelings of fraternal regard."[36] The Society of United Irishmen itself was framed on these terms. In the "Original Declaration of the United Irishmen," they assert, "we think it our duty, as Irishmen, to come forward and state what *we feel to be our heavy grievance*"; in another declaration, they define their "beloved principle, which takes in every individual of the Irish nation, casts an equal eye over the whole island, embraces all that think, and *feels for all that suffer.*"[37] Such appeals resonate with eighteenth-century concepts of sensibility; together with appeals for justice, they are firmly situated within the moral theory that descends from Shaftesbury to David Hume and Adam Smith and then to Henry Home (Lord Kames). While this body of literature has typically been limited to the middle of the eighteenth century, recent studies have shown how its conventions were transformed in rather than subsumed by the literature of the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century.[38]

While there are significant variations among writers on sensibility, both in the early years of its development and as it began to wane in the nineteenth century, there are three broad precepts generally fundamental to it: first, that feelings of sympathy or disgust are determined by the virtue of the person arousing those feelings, and so virtue is registered by feelings of sympathy; second, that the more virtuous are more sensible to these feelings of sympathy or disgust; third, that a rational awareness of the public good informs an individual's sympathy and that this is the basis of justice. Thus, in *An Inquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*, Hume proposes that we "define[ ] . . . virtue to be *whatever mental action or quality gives to a spectator the pleasing sentiment of approbation;* and vice the contrary."[39] Adam Smith writes that sympathy "is by no means confined to the virtuous and humane, though they perhaps may feel it with the most exquisite sensibility. The greatest ruffian, the most hardened violator of the laws of society, is not altogether without it" (*Theory*, 3). Readers of British Romantic literature are perhaps most familiar with these precepts via Percy Bysshe Shelley's "Defence of Poetry": "The great secret of morals is Love; or a going out of our own

nature, and an identification of ourselves with the beautiful which exists in thought, action, or person, not our own. A man, to be greatly good, must imagine intensely and comprehensively; he must put himself in the place of another and of many others; the pains and pleasures of his species must become his own."[40] This premise that sympathy forges a bond between individuals is clearly outlined in Smith's study: "By the imagination we place ourselves in his situation, we conceive ourselves enduring all the same torments, we enter as it were into his body, and become in some measure the same person" – "this is the source of our fellow-feeling for the misery of others, that it is by changing places in fancy with the sufferer, that we come either to conceive or to be affected by what he feels" (*Theory*, 4). This premise was not lost in the end of the Romantic age, but continues to recur in the nineteenth century, forming the basis, for instance, of part of Ernest Renan's theory of nationalism. Writing nearly a century after the United Irishmen uprising, when Drennan wrote "common calamity may produce a common country," Renan suggests,

> [S]uffering in common unifies more than joy does. Where national memories are concerned, griefs are of more value than triumphs, for they impose duties, and require a common effort. A nation is therefore a large-scale solidarity, constituted by the feeling of the sacrifices that one has made in the past and of those that one is prepared to make in the future.[41]

This nationalism is not patriotism, a love of country, but a moral engagement with a sympathetic community from which the nation, and its morality, derive.

While Moore has been condemned for creating the stereotype of the sentimental Irishman and, Norman Vance suggests, "help[ing] to set Irish poetry on a course of sentimentality and romantic nationalism leading to the bad verse poured out by Thomas Davis and the Young Ireland propagandists of the 1840s,"[42] Moore is clearly only a part of, and even a latecomer to, a larger attempt to sanctify the nationalist cause by representing it in sentimental terms. This sentimentalism is not necessarily naive, pathetic, or overwrought, though it occasionally is, but part of a well-theorized strategy that engaged contemporary moral theory to persuade the audience of the virtue of a particular political position in the face of what Morgan termed "the dawning reign of public opinion."[43] Elizabeth Ryves, for instance, an Irish poet who published a number of literary volumes in the 1770s and 1780s as well as wrote for the periodicals of the day, often invoked sensibility as a rubric for moral action in the face of colonial violence. In her parodic and timely attack on

the Hastings' actions in British-controlled India, *The Hastiniad* (1785), as Adeline John-Putra has noted, "Ryves contrasts the colonialist greed of Europeans with the pure motivations of Indians, thus producing a sympathy with those who are exploited and marginalised."[44] An earlier poem by Ryves, "Ode to Sensibility" (1777), makes clear the connection between feeling, morality, and proper action:

I.

The sordid wretch who ne'er has known,
To feel for miseries not his own;
Whose lazy pulse serenely beats,
While injur'd worth her wrongs repeats;
Dead to each sense of joy or pain,
A useless link in nature's chain,
May boast the calm which I disdain.

II.

Give me a generous soul, that glows
With others' transports, others' woes;
Whose noble nature scorns to bend,
Tho' Fate her iron scourge extend:
But bravely bears the galling yoke,
And smiles superior to the stroke,
With spirit free and mind unbroke.

III.

Yet, by compassion touch'd, not fear,
Sheds the soft sympathizing tear,
In tribute to Affliction's claim,
Or envy'd Merit's wounded fame.
Let Stoics scoff! I'd rather be
Thus curst with Sensibility,
Than share their boasted Apathy.[45]

These stanzas, particularly the last, resonate suggestively with Gibbons' recent argument that Burke rejected stoicism as a modulation of sensibility that furthered the colonial agenda:

> The importance of detachment and a stoic-like bearing, for [Adam] Smith, is that it ultimately absolves the spectator of the need to intervene. . . . For Edmund Burke, by contrast, it was precisely such restrained expressions of sympathy from those in a position to alleviate distress, and endless passivity among the victims of suffering, which reduced colonized cultures to a state of abjection.[46]

By contrast, "Through the 'triumph of real sympathy', and a profound identification with the sufferer, the multitude may be galvanized into doing something to redress what they consider a travesty of justice."[47] "With spirit free and mind unbroke," Ryves' speaker rejects stoicism as the handmaiden of submission, while offering in its place a triumphal sensibility that transcends pain and division. In Ryves' poem, it is pain that is to be abjected by the "generous soul" that resonates with others' emotions and so "smiles superior to the stroke."

Vance represents United-man Drennan as rational, in distinction to the complexly sentimental Moore, but Drennan's sentimentalism is indisputable. In "Hymn VI," Drennan draws on the same lexicon of sensibility as his near-contemporary Ryves:

> All Nature feels attractive pow'r,
> A strong embracing force;
> The drops that sparkle in the show'r,
> The planets in their course.
>
> Thus, in the universe of mind,
> Is felt the law of love,
> The charity, both strong and kind,
> For all that live and move.
>
> In this fine sympathetic chain,
> All creatures bear a part;
> Their ev'ry pleasure, ev'ry pain,
> Link'd to the feeling heart.[48]

Virtually a paraphrase of Smith, Drennan's hymn, published in a collection of Drennan's mostly nationalist writings, reveals the sentimental roots of United Irishmen thought and the difficulty of separating rationality from sentimentality in this period. The sentimental basis for Drennan's nationalism is also apparent in his explicitly political writings, where he suggests that national sentiment makes "a man . . . capable of every thing good and great," and that, without a nation, the people "become a mere number . . . without any inherent principle of motive of common action, unattached to each other."[49] In a 1799 pamphlet, he contends that the 1798 Uprising was a consequence of British interference in this "motive of common action": "Ireland has been kept in a state of *savage* independence; in such a state as might best break down, and destroy that *mutual* dependence, from which flows the happiness of the individual, and the true wealth of nations."[50] The model on which

this United-man poet drew so extensively was pervasive enough to survive the suppression of the United Irishmen and enter the lexicon of the nineteenth-century novel. Thus, in an 1816 novel entitled *The Matron of Erin*, a character asserts, "the common sufferings of Irishmen unite us, however differing in religious persuasion, for the general good."[51] It is in Teeling's memoir of the 1798 Uprising, however, that sentimental nationalism receives one of its most sustained articulations.

"THE NATIONAL IMPULSE" IN TEELING'S MEMOIRS OF THE 1798 UPRISING

As one of the United Irishmen's "social radicals," Teeling was instrumental in the "merger" of the largely protestant United Irishmen with the predominantly Catholic Defenders.[52] Shortly thereafter, in September 1796,[53] he was one of the first arrested in Castlereagh's sweep of the area for political dissidents – in part, perhaps, because Castlereagh and Teeling's father were friends. Teeling published two narratives about the events of the late 1790s, focussing on his own experiences: *Personal Narrative of the Irish Rebellion of 1798* (1828) and the *Sequel to the Personal Narrative of the Irish Rebellion of 1798* (1832). Teeling's first *Personal Narrative* is often cited in histories of the period, but Teeling's memoir is widely understood to be what Mary Helen Thuente terms "a romanticized account," and historians have noted a bias in Teeling's elisions as well as in his slightly revisionary *Sequel*.[54] But I would like to suggest that there is a method in Teeling's romanticizations, a method derived from eighteenth-century moral theory and the literature of sensibility that it informed. History is not his subject but the spur to his extended polemic about the authenticity of Irish national feeling and the brutishness of colonial power in light of that feeling. Teeling offers a particularly clear illustration of the ways in which sensibility could be used to define and sanction the nation in powerful ways. His memoirs' generic status as "personal narrative" is crucial to their project; it focuses sentimental response on Teeling's sentimental responses to others' sentimental responses, a "fine sympathetic chain" (in Drennan's phrase) of individual reactions.

Teeling follows from the view, articulated, for instance, by Hume, that sympathy and disgust are dispensed in accordance with a reasoned judgment of the public good. Teeling thus, perhaps predictably, directs the reader to find the colonial authorities disgusting and so perceive them to be acting against the public good, and the United Irishmen the converse.

But he also translates the general philosophical terms of "fellow-feeling" and "sympathy" into "national feeling" and "national sympathy." These terms are at once more specific, because located in one nation, and more inclusive, because everyone in the nation participates in them: "every county, city, and town in Ireland expressed ... in the undisguised language of the heart, the most poignant regret" (6); "One feeling pervaded the whole assembly: it was a feeling of sorrow and deep indignation" (6); "Such was the general sentiment expressed throughout Ireland" (6). Further, instead of identifying a character as virtuous because others sympathize with his or her suffering or because of a capacity to sympathize with others, as in Enlightenment moral theory, Teeling identifies the United Irishmen as virtuous because of the people's sympathy with their suffering and because of their own sensibility to the people's suffering. He thus represents the United Irishmen and the people in a sympathetic bond, each commiserating for the other's suffering, and so mutually validating the other's virtue while demonstrating their own and, in the process, constituting both a nation on affective terms in defiance of colonial pressures and an authentically representative political organization in defiance of the criminalization of the United Irishmen. He also repeats a common claim of the 1790s, namely that the Irish people form nationalist societies because of colonial oppression (Drennan, for instance, declares that the prime minister of Britain is the "founder" of the "society of United Irishmen");[55] in Teeling's representation, the colonial regime institutes the suffering through which the national bond is forged, and thus the Irish are innocent of instigation. Moreover, Teeling persistently declares and, through various anecdotes demonstrates, that this national sympathy is so powerful that it supersedes and subverts colonial attempts to divide and contain resistance.

Katie Trumpener notes Teeling's emphasis on emotion to argue that "A new nationalism may be called into being in several parts of Britain, but only where a firm sense of national identification, pride and anger, has long preceded it."[56] But in Teeling's text, identification proceeds on the basis of sympathy, particularly sympathy for the danger or suffering of others: it is this sympathy which triggers the anger, and the moral validity that it offers which enables the pride. Meanwhile, those associated with colonial hegemony are represented as unfeeling and unsympathetic to the sensibilities of the nationalists. By way of preface to an execution, Teeling writes, "The calm resignation and unshaken fortitude which supported men through the severest trials, and accompanied them in the last stage of their mortal career, seemed a matter of unaccountable surprise to those

who were insensible to the love of country and the innate feelings of virtue, which teach us how to die" (31–2). Similarly, Teeling claims, "public sympathy for those who suffered in the cause was general and sincere" (11). Such assertions do double duty, at once uniting the nation in a sympathy for the suffering of some of its constituent parts, like that described by Renan, and condemning the colonial regime as immoral for both instituting and being insensible to that suffering.

The structure of Teeling's *Personal Narrative* encourages this construction of nationalism. After a prefatory polemic against colonial rule, Teeling begins his *Narrative* with a section entitled, "National Indignation on the Removal of Lord Fitzwilliam from the Administration of Ireland" (5); Teeling locates the source of "national feeling" in the "national indignation" that led to a "day of *national mourning*" (6*n*). This moment of shared grief is the origin of the national sympathies of the narrative, a sympathy that ties the soldiers, the leaders of the United Irishmen, political prisoners, and "the people" at large in a national union. This origin is reduplicated each time an atrocity is committed. For instance, referring to the start of the Uprising, Teeling writes,

> it was only when the outraged feelings of human nature were no longer able to bear the torture of the scourge, the blaze of the incendiary, and the base violation of female virtue, that Wexford rose as one man, and, like a giant in his strength, hurled defiance at the oppressor. Then, indeed, was Wexford *united*; not in the calm and progressive order of the system, but in the field and in arms – in the face of God and their country – in the presence of their wives and their children – they swore *inviolable union*; and what the parent societies might not have effected in years, the injustice of government accomplished in an hour. (72–3)

Teeling's argument, made at various points in the narrative, is clear: the people are united by their sympathetic response to suffering instituted by the government. They are not united by Celticism, an attachment to the land, ideological agendas for re-framing the nation, language, religion, or class, but by their virtuous capacity for sympathy and their exposure to the effects of oppression.

In the pre-Uprising half of the narrative, dominated by Teeling's arrest and imprisonment, the prison functions as a synecdoche for the colonized nation. The colonial and anti-colonial sides are distinguished in terms of sensibility, a strategy common in the period that Teeling is describing. As Stephen Cox notes, the discourse of sensibility was a common weapon in the Revolutionary debate of the 1790s: thus, for instance, Burke implies, "the traditional order takes full account of natural feelings; the revolutionists deny them."[57] Teeling blends this hierarchization of

sensibility and insensibility with Paine's characterization of established power as arbitrary rather than natural in its origins in order to represent the colonial authorities as unfeeling actors.[58] Of Castlereagh, he writes, "The principal performer in this scene was, of all men, the last who could have been supposed ambitious of exhibiting in such a character.... Ireland witnessed his delinquency with sorrow" (12). General Nugent, the local military leader, is described in similar terms: "His visit was attended with considerable parade, and a good deal of that empty pomposity, more characteristic of the fop than the soldier" (16). The interrogation of Teeling and other political prisoners "only tended to betray the indecision of the council, and to expose the weakness which all their assumed courage and importance could not conceal" (21), and the government makes "some little effort to uphold a show of legislative authority" (51). They are also insensible. Ministers are termed "unfeeling" (58) and Castlereagh, the "apostate patriot" (14) as Teeling terms him, has merely the rhetoric of politeness instead of a feeling heart: when Teeling's father appeals to his former friend to be allowed to visit his son, Castlereagh, who "had not the heart of an O'Neill, nor the feelings of a father ... refused, in the polite language of the courtier" (30). The only occasion on which he evinces feeling is in a confrontation with Teeling's mother during his search of the family home, and there it operates as a sign of the forceful sensibility of Teeling's mother: "her gentle but lofty spirit was roused, and burying maternal grief in the indignant feeling of her soul, 'I was wrong,' she exclaimed, 'to appeal to a heart that never felt the tie of parental affection – your Lordship is *not a father*.' She pronounced this with a tone and an emphasis so feeling and so powerful, that even the mind of Castlereagh was not insensible to its force" (15–16). Castlereagh thus proves Adam Smith's rule that "The greatest ruffian, the most hardened violator of the laws of society, is not altogether without [sympathy]" (*Theory*, 3), but in the context of establishing Teeling's mother as powerfully affective rather than Castlereagh as redeemably sensible.

The United Irishmen and their sympathizers are consistently, even persistently, represented as sentimental and "benevolent," a keyword in the lexicon of sensibility.[59] Of the sister of a nationalist prisoner, Teeling writes, "the benevolent feelings of her heart extended to every soul in distress" (47). O'Neill, similarly, is a figure of national authenticity in terms of both genealogy and sensibility: his "ancestors swayed princely authority in the land before Britain had a title in that land to bestow" (31); "benevolent and kind, he felt for the misfortunes which he could

not relieve" (31). The people also exemplify this benevolence and sympathy. While only a "cold and distant salute passed between" (16) Teeling and Nugent, a crowd gathers outside. Teeling represents the crowd, and most of the soldiers, as sympathetic: "Strong personal resentment against the author of my arrest was expressed in language too unequivocal to be mistaken, and the soldiers who formed my guard . . . evinced no disposition hostile to the sentiments which my countrymen expressed. The feelings of the army, were, in fact, at that period considerably identified with those of the people" (16–17); "a communication existed between the soldiery and the people" (17). The people exhibit "Considerable apprehensions" and "much anxiety" (17) on Teeling's behalf. Support for Teeling in his hometown is such that he is approached by his guard: "two grenadiers . . . addressed me with a feeling and emotion which evinced their sincerity; – '*Now*, sir,' said they, '*now* is your time; *our company* is on guard, our comrades are faithful; no sentinel will stop you' " (17). Teeling declines out of sympathetic concern for the guards' well-being. The guards, who Teeling notes are in communication with "the people" (17), then hatch a plan for attacking Castlereagh. Again out of sentimental concern for the safety of others, Teeling stops the assault. He "had now no possible mode of direct external communication" (18) because he had been placed in the back of the building away from the crowd, so he speaks to the guards, "exhort[ing] them, in the most forcible language, to a peaceful and orderly demeanour" (18) – his "sentiments were conveyed to the people" (18). Throughout these early scenes, the sympathy of the people for the prisoners is insistently established and, more significantly, Teeling draws attention, again and again, to the power of that sympathy to cross the borders established and policed by the colonial forces. While Castlereagh and his military officials appear to be in control, it is Teeling who exercises control over Castlereagh's life through his sympathetic connection to the people and it is Teeling who commands the soldiers who are themselves marked by "a feeling and emotion which evinced their sincerity."

In the prison section of the narrative, Teeling alienates the colonial authorities from the national circuit of sympathy, and represents their legislative and material fortifications as permeable to that sympathy. Teeling thus adds documentary weight to his rather gothic declaration, "Whilst the dark soul of despotism was employed in devising new modes of privations and restraint, the fair spirit of liberty was awake, and the sympathy of virtue, which tyrants never feel – which fetters cannot bind, nor bolts restrain, – communicated confidence, entertainment, and

hope" (27–28). When Teeling's father is finally allowed to visit Charles in prison, he exclaims, "Thank God! . . . the tyranny of man cannot fetter the mind, nor sever the tie that unites the kindred soul" (53). Teeling offers various demonstrations of the power of sympathetic bonds to break boundaries established by those without feeling. As Teeling and other political prisoners are being conveyed to Dublin, they stop at a garrison. They are denied food and water there, and local women who want to offer them refreshment are stopped by the guard. However, Teeling writes, the "generous feelings of our fair countrywomen" (20) prevailed: "Two . . . approached my carriage; this they could only effect through the hazardous expedient of passing under the cavalry horses, which evinced more gentleness than their riders. They extended their arms with difficulty, and pressed me to partake of the refreshments which they presented" (20). This transgression of borders continues in the Dublin prison. Instead of sympathetic soldiers, there is a "brave veteran" with a "benevolent heart" who recognizes the innocence of the prisoners and offers them some snuff (22). They develop a community within the walls that works against prison authority. Though they are at first in "Solitary imprisonment" (24), they learn how to "detach[ ] the locks from [their] doors" so that they can socialize with each other (24). When the comic of the group is ordered to be put in chains because of his cutting remarks and his possession of the symbolic green ribbon, all ask to be put in chains: "Fetters and the dungeon presented no terrors to the manly breast, while a virtuous sympathy bespoke the generous feeling which animated every soul, and all eagerly demanded to participate in the perilous distinction of their intrepid associate" (38). And the prison authorities' attempts to limit communication between the prisoners and those outside are regularly thwarted. To counter Castlereagh's refusal to allow his old friend, Luke Teeling, to send a letter to his son, Teeling offers the story of a local woman of wealth who is given permission to give the prisoners some food, and conceals letters and writing materials in a pie. The letters once again raise national sympathy: "We now felt as if a new soul breathed within us; we were assured of the attachment of our friends, the sympathy of our country, and the strength of our cause" (29).

The sympathy of the people for those imprisoned by the government is active; like Burke's version of sensibility, cogently addressed by Gibbons, suffering demands the attempt "to alleviate distress": "Burke considers the emotional release of the sublime to consist not so much in taking pleasure from the spectacle of pain, but experiencing 'delight' from its removal or regulation. . . . So far from our own pain precluding this kind

of sympathetic identification, it may be that alleviating our own suffering often requires helping others in distress."[60] Teeling thus suggests that "The people, sensitively alive to the situation of those confined, had concerted measures for the liberation of a selected few" (40). In one attempt, "the genuine feeling of the Irish heart, and . . . the native sensibility of an unlettered, but generous mind" is revealed when an "honest rustic" (41) easily enters the prison and offers to take Teeling's place. The narrative thus makes concrete what the hyperbolic introduction leaves rhetorical, Teeling's claim that "the excitement of popular feeling, roused by the widely spreading sentiments of freedom which, having successfully struggled in the new world, now burst with irresistible force upon the old, and swept like a torrent every barrier opposed to its impetuous career" (3). Teeling's narrative, then, draws extensively on Enlightenment sensibility to authorize and authenticate the feelings of the people who resist colonial rule while rendering the colonial authorities insensible and so, in the logic of sensibility, immoral.

This is not simply a matter of rewriting history because Teeling's narrative forms part of another conflict, that is, the conflict between pro- and anti-colonial representations of 1798 in which "the excitement of popular feeling" for political ends was the goal of both sides. The first edition of Teeling's *Personal Narrative* includes advertisements for a half-dozen pro-nationalist texts on the uprising as the writing of history became a field of struggle in the debate leading up to Catholic Emancipation in 1829.[61] The model for such reader-response is found in theories of the sentimental. As Janet Todd succinctly puts it, "A sentimental work moralizes more than it analyses and emphasis is not on the subtleties of a particular emotional state but on the communication of common feeling from sufferer or watcher to reader or audience," and "Such display is justified by the belief that a heightened sense of one's virtue through pity for another is morally improving."[62] Teeling closely follows this model. Referring to the death of a woman sympathetic to the cause, he writes, "the hand that records her virtues, even at this distant period, stops to wipe off the tear that flows from the recollection of her sensibility and worth" (47). Similarly, in the 1832 *Sequel*, he offers letters that his father wrote during his own imprisonment because "They may afford subject for reflection and improvement to the youthful mind, and will imprint on the hearts of my children an affectionate remembrance of his worth" (324). Teeling's narratives, recollections of the nationalists' "sensibility and worth," operate to generate the same sympathetic, sentimental response, as well as the same equation of "sensibility" and "virtue," in their readers.

The reversibility of these terms is apparent in their usage for the other side in this historiographical conflict. In his military history, *Impartial Narrative of the Most Important Engagements between His Majesty's Forces and the Rebels, During the Irish Rebellion, 1798*, first published in 1799 and republished in revised form in 1834, John Jones offers a pro-colonial account of the Uprising. While the title affects an historian's distance from both the events of the narrative and the party politics out of which they arose, Jones' narrative frequently turns to the suffering of the colonial side and invites the reader's sympathetic identification with it. In a short embedded narration entitled, "Mrs Tyrrell's Sufferings While Prisoner with the Rebels," Jones departs from his emphasis on reports of troop movements to offer an account of a woman's temporary entanglement in the events of the military conflict. The actual plot is fairly thin: Mrs. Tyrrell is captured in the middle of the uprising, asks various officers to release her, finally strikes a sympathetic chord in one who lets her out of the carriage in which she is imprisoned, and she walks home unimpeded. Horror is invoked not by the actions of the men, but by their lack of chivalric sensibility. This insensibility is described in terms redolent of the language of Radcliffean gothic: Mrs. Tyrrell "describes the men as a ragged, wretched looking banditti," hears them arguing about whether to treat her well or poorly, and is denied assistance by a "popish priest" she used to welcome into her home.[63] A subsequent passage on this priest's fate concludes, "He seemed rather to be an instrument of Hell, than a minister of Heaven, for his mind was perpetually brooding over sanguinary schemes and plans of rapine, while he assumed the sacred vestments of a servant of Christ!"[64] In such departures from military reportage and to a large degree in the accounts themselves, Jones invites the readers' horror, relying, in the terms of sensibility, on their virtuous sympathy with those women (and children) who suffered at the hands of the insurgents, thus registering the immorality of the uprising.

Like Teeling, Jones emphasizes female virtue; and both Teeling and Jones offer instances of violence, particularly sexual violence, to excite the readers' disgust. In one of Teeling's tales of outraged feminine virtue, two women are captured by a

> blasted despoiler, to whom the government of the country had entrusted the commission of the peace and the command of a yeomanry corps, [who] bore the unhappy captives, – not to the home of safety, – not to the asylum of honour, – but within the precincts of his own residence, which the virtue of an amiable wife should have rendered sacred. Brutal violence was offered, and every ruffian of his band invited to the hellish example. To the honour of a British

officer, who commanded in the neighbouring garrison, the wretched victims were rescued the following morning. (26–27*n*)

Teeling goes further, and personifies Ireland itself as a sentimental heroine, a virtuous lady in distress, held captive by colonial agents who have the manners of courtiers but not the proper sensibility to treat her truly well: "Ireland stands pre-eminent; alike conspicuous in her sufferings and virtues; her devoted attachment to the faith of her ancestors, her unshaken fidelity, and unconquerable love of freedom" (2). Teeling's readers, like William Blake's Daughters of Albion, are to "hear her woes, & eccho back her sighs."[65]

But representing the uprising and the nation on these sentimental terms does more than seek to elicit a sympathetic response from the reader. Through the interest of eighteenth-century moral theory in justice, it also solicits a reevaluation of the criminalization of nationalist discourse and activity. In his defence of Archibald Rowan Hamilton on the charge of "publish[ing] a certain false, wicked, malicious, scandalous, and seditious libel," namely the United Irishmen proclamation for which Drennan was charged as well, the important United-man lawyer, John Philpot Curran, declares,

[the victim's] sufferings must ever remain before our eyes, a continual call upon your shame and your remorse. But those sufferings will do more; they will not rest satisfied with your unavailing contrition – they will challenge the great and paramount inquest of society – the man will be weighed against the charge, the witness, and the sentence – and impartial justice will demand, why has an Irish jury done this deed? The moment he ceases to be regarded as a criminal, he becomes of necessity an accuser.[66]

This passage follows directly from Hume's theory, particularly as outlined in his section on justice in *An Inquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*. In that passage, Hume represents crime as "rendering [a person] . . . obnoxious to the public," and justice as a virtue involved in the "determin[ation of] what degree of esteem or moral approbation may result from reflections on public interest and utility."[67] In short, as already mentioned, justice is the distribution of approbation or disgust according to the best interests of the public. Curran is appealing to the jury, and Teeling to his readers, to cease to regard the United Irishmen as criminals – and thus, "of necessity," to regard them as the colonial regime's accusers. And the catalyst which will effect this change in moral evaluation, for Curran and Teeling, is a sympathetic response to suffering.

Sympathetic response does double duty in these texts. In Smithian terms, it provides the emotional cement which makes the nation cohere and even cohere more strongly in the face of colonial pressure. In Humean terms, it offers a basis on which those outside of that national community can rationally find moral grounds for shifting their political position. Sentimental and sentimentalized, Irish "insurgents" are decriminalized on the same terms by which they are to be nationalized. Such a shift in judgment is dramatized in *The Outlaw* from Alicia Lefanu's *Tales of a Tourist* (1823), where Lefanu recognizes the traumatic silences created by the uprising and sets the terms on which the wounds can be healed without legitimizing rebellion. Her pro-government hero suggests, "Will you not allow . . . the merit of good intentions to those unhappy men who suffered death or exile in consequence of their share in the rebellion of 1798 . . . ? Might they not have been guided by a sincere, though mistaken zeal for the redress of injuries"?[68] This sets the stage for the eventual pardon of a repentant United-man, and it is sentiment – the sympathetic recognition of "good intentions," "sincer[ity]," and "injuries" – that paves the way for the repatriation of the United Irishman. Over three decades, Irish writers returned to sensibility as a theory through which to authorize Irish claims to nationhood and as a rhetorical mode through which to solicit a sympathetic response from readers that would further that nationalist agenda.

CHAPTER 2

Empowering the Colonized Nation; or, Virtue Rewarded

> "[Y]ou are now here to receive from the Mayor of the city the gratifying acknowledgment, that Montreal looks upon you, not as step-children or as foreigners, but as children of her own household, whom she does not distinguish unfavourably from any of her other children. (Loud cheers.) His Worship the Mayor has a large family; pretty well up to 130,000 of us; what we call in Ireland 'rather a heavy charge.' But it is pleasant for him, and for us all, to know that we are all pretty well able to take care of ourselves, and the Irish part of us not less so than others."
>
> Thomas D'Arcy McGee, speech in Montreal, Canada
> (St. Patrick's Day, 1866)

The discourse of sensibility, offering a model of universal sympathy that emphasizes human connection over social or cultural difference, makes it possible to conceive of the colonized nation as something other than, in Deane's phrase, a "strange country." While many of the texts of the preceding chapter were positioned as rhetorical volleys in a heated public debate, the texts discussed in this chapter seek to persuade in the less confrontational and less public terms of the novel's conventionalized engagement with family and education. In Morgan's *The Wild Irish Girl*, the heroine's education of the hero extends her power to direct his sensibility: her pedagogical force rests not on the extremity of her suffering but on the extent of her information about the suffering of the Irish people and the infectiousness of her own sensibility. In some of Edgeworth's tales from the same period, lower-class male workers of Irish (or Irish-like) descent are allowed to transcend their (feminine) suffering and achieve agency within the empire through education; that is, they are allowed to exchange their feminine victimization for male power. Such characters in Edgeworth's fiction achieve upward mobility by submitting to an anglicizing education that at once restrains sensibility and fosters a practical work ethic; as Mitzi Myers has argued, this emphasis on education and agency counters essentializing imperialist discourse, but Edgeworth

defines education and agency on British terms so that agency at once seeks and finds its fulfillment in anglicization.[1]

These different representations of colonial ties do not envision the breaking of those bonds, offering instead models that imply a strong, if not unbreakable, connection. But they do draw on ideas of the family to offer key discriminations in the distribution of imperial power and the potential empowerment of Ireland or the Irish within a colonial setting. Pedagogy facilitates mimicry, according to Bhabha:

> colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, *as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*. . . . Mimicry is, thus the sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline, which "appropriates" the Other as it visualizes power. Mimicry is also the sign of the inappropriate, however, a difference or recalcitrance which coheres the dominant strategic function of colonial power, intensifies surveillance, and poses an immanent threat to both "normalized" knowledges and disciplinary powers.[2]

Bhabha's examples, however, are all taken from British discourse about non-European colonies, with its racist binary formulations of "not quite/ not white."[3] In the case of Ireland, however, the "not quite" is uncomfortably "white," as I argued in the Introduction. Further, around 1800, racial discourse still hovered on the margins of what we would now term "ethnicity," so that the French, Germans, English, and Irish were all denominated different races even as J. F. Blumenbach's eighteenth-century model of races as physical types, chromatically defined, gained currency. The ambivalence of "race" in this era, as both ethnicity and physical type, permitted such slippery formulations as that cited by the Edgeworths in their *Essay on Irish Bulls*:

> In Voltaire's Age of Lewis the Fourteenth we find the following passage: – "Some nations seem made to be subject to others. The English have always had over the Irish the superiority of genius, wealth, and arms. The *superiority which the whites have over the negroes*."
>
> A note in a subsequent edition informs us, that the injurious expression – "*The superiority which the whites have over the negroes*," was erased by Voltaire; and his editor subjoins his own opinion. "The nearly savage state in which Ireland was when she was conquered, her superstition, the oppression exercised by the English, the religious fanaticism which divides the Irish into two hostile nations, such were the causes which have held down this people in depression and weakness. Religious hatreds are appeased, and this country has recovered her liberty. The Irish no longer yield to the English, either in industry or in information." (*Essay*, 185)

The hierarchy is precise: there used to be, they aver, a certain symmetry between English/Irish and white/non-white, but the Irish are now, rather than being "like" the non-white, "like" the English. Since the English have improved, insofar as they are less oppressive, the Irish too are improved. In short, the slash which once hierarchized them as surely as white/black now marks a mirror that enables the Irish, through mimicry, to improve along with the English. Irish education and labour – metonymically aligned with "whiteness" in the Edgeworths' use of Voltaire's (translated) reference to "the whites" – thus become a sign of English civility. And this is precisely how it appears in Edgeworth's tales. But, at the same time, this process is dependent on the difference between the Irish and non-white peoples, as Edgeworth makes clear in such works as her Indian tale, "Lame Jervas." As Lloyd puts it, "race is no ontological or essential quality but is constructed in differential relation to the normative culture of the state"[4] – in this instance, the culture of the British imperial state.

In Edgeworth and Morgan's early writings, however, the morality of this mimicry is established by making it a mimicry of sensibility as well as "industry" and "information," a mimicry that (unlike that described by Bhabha) depends fundamentally on the identification of sensibility with the spectator's gaze. In his study, *The Surprising Effects of Sympathy*, David Marshall notes the theatricality of Adam Smith's theory of sympathy: "For Smith, acts of sympathy are structured by theatrical dynamics that (because of the impossibility of really knowing or entering into someone else's sentiments) depend on people's ability to represent themselves as tableaux, spectacles, and texts before others."[5] Against this spectacular colonial mimicry, however, is the anti-colonial essentialism of Irish difference – an Irish difference idealized, if not exoticized, in some nationalist writing as a female personification, the sentimentalized object of desire to the (male) Irish population. Sensibility as it is linked to mimicry stresses sameness, the sympathetic bond between two participants who share a universal subjectivity which makes each capable of reproducing the emotion of the other, facilitating a pedagogical process through which a subordinate is both affectively bonded to a dominant figure and motivated to become more like that dominant figure. Sensibility that is charged by erotic desire, however, depends upon difference: a moral male subject who is not suffering is paired with a suffering female personification of Ireland, so that the male subject is motivated to act by both sexual desire and moral sentiments while the female must excel in attractiveness and plaintiveness in order to provoke such feelings.

In *The Wild Irish Girl*, Morgan deploys both hybrid forms of sensibility to chart the assimilation of the English nobleman to an Irish perspective: first he desires the idealized Irishwoman, exemplary of her nation, and then his sensibility is retrained to comply with the standards of benevolence and social responsibility that Morgan identifies with Irish culture in opposition to an English culture of morally bankrupt aesthetics and self-indulgence. For Edgeworth, conversely, benevolence and social responsibility are the hallmarks of Englishness and it is the Irish who need retraining. But the English narrative of assimilation has no erotic figure at its centre, so her characters seek the approval of a paternal figure rather than the affections of an idealized woman. The texts considered here by Morgan and Edgeworth are part of a larger trend in English literature, with notably significant participation by women writers after Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792), to explicate theories of education through the fictional form of the *bildungsroman*.[6] But despite their shared sex and literary tradition, Morgan and Edgeworth mobilize gender in very different ways. Politics trumps sex, as they pursue nearly opposed constructions of national sensibility and the pedagogical scene in which an outsider figure is allowed to join the fold on terms drawn from the nuclear family. While my focus in this chapter is on this pedagogical scene in relation to sensibility, there is an informing cultural discourse that must first be examined at least briefly, namely the personification in nationalist writing of Ireland as a woman who fires patriotic passion on terms figured as erotic (a personification relevant to the discussion of Moore's poetry in the next chapter as well).

PROUD DEFIANCE, NOBLE SUFFERING, AND PATRIOT PASSION: IRELAND AS HEROINE

The representation of Ireland as female is a common one, and, in its pro-Irish avatar, employs, and often collapses, two sentimental figures: the suffering maiden-in-distress, requiring chivalric men to rise to her defence; the proudly defiant spirit, maintaining dignity and virtue in the face of powerful oppression. Always beautiful, often with a melodious voice, and necessarily sensible and moral, Ireland personified – whether Hibernia, Erin, or Kathleen Ny Houlihan, whether genius, spirit, or exemplary embodiment – becomes a rallying point for male heroism.[7] In her essay, "The Erotics of Irishness," Cheryl Herr addresses

the formulation of "Ireland-as-body," but as an abjected body, with the psychic potential of the "nonpatriarchal imaginary" of French post-Lacanian feminist theory although abjected in the Kristevan sense as "an excess that speaks and threatens and suffers repression."[8] Herr's focus is on twentieth-century Ireland, and her perspective is rooted in the celebrations of the female body in French feminism, but her emphasis is nevertheless useful here. While invested with the power of the absent or lost nation, representing the national potential, such female figures are rigorously contained by gender. Their virtue not only marks their legitimacy as women, but also the legitimacy of the national cause; they must therefore, even more than Caesar's wife, be beyond reproach, while yet arousing the erotic desire that motivates patriotic action. This erotic-patriotic desire thus works on terms similar to that of the Petrarchan model, with its attendant use of the binary opposition between untouchable female flesh and a desiring male subject. But it is a Petrarchan attraction in which the distant and idealized woman on the pedestal is aligned with the truth of the repressed nation, at once the evocation of national potential and national residue, and the one who worships her is either the inspired nationalist or the reformed oppressor – one who feels separated from the idealized nation that the unattainable woman represents. These figures thus oddly recall Jacques Derrida's description of truth in *Spurs*: "Whether he himself has been exiled, or whether it is because he has permitted the idea's exile, he can now only follow in its trace. At this moment history begins. Now the stories start. Distance – woman – averts truth – the philosopher. She bestows the idea. And the idea withdraws, becomes transcendant, inaccessible, seductive. It beckons from afar. . . . Its veils float in the distance."[9] Because it is an idealized national truth, however, its "beckon[ing] from afar" is a call to heroic action – to rescue, and win, the maiden in distress, turning Petrarchan courtship into the stuff of national romance through which it can be legitimated and motivated by the logic of sensibility.

In United Irishmen literature, representations of Ireland as such a female figure relentlessly emphasize her virtue, and thus the virtue of those who rise to her defense. In Reverend James Porter's *Billy Bluff and the Squire* (1796), the generally pointed United-man satire is suspended for a utopian vision of the Genius of Ireland calling to the people from atop a hill covered in shamrocks: "The sky seemed to open near the western side, out of which came sailing through the air a beautiful

Angel clad in robes of white: In her left hand she held a large flag, on which I could see written in letters of gold, 'THE GENIUS OF IRELAND.' In her right hand she held a branch of olive, which she waved round and round, at which all the people seemed filled with joy and began to smile" and she "spoke, with a voice exquisitely fine, that ravished my ears: 'THESE, said she, ARE ALL MY CHILDREN. – This is the HILL OF UNION,'" as the Ascendancy elite flee over the horizon.[10] Teeling's personification of Ireland, produced at a much lower ebb of nationalist hope, is stoic in her virtue, "conspicuous in her sufferings and her virtues; her devoted attachment to the faith of her ancestors, her unshaken fidelity, and unconquerable love of freedom" (2).

In Drennan's best-known poem, "Erin," first published in *Paddy's Resource, Being a Select Collection of Original Patriotic Songs for the Use of the People of Ireland* (1796) (a volume associated with the United Irishmen and published surreptitiously in order to avoid prosecution), the personification of Ireland is depicted weeping over the colonized nation. Once again using the language of sensibility, Drennan describes Erin lamenting and demanding that the people lament Ireland's fall but then act heroically to resurrect the nation. He begins with an idealized Ireland, pre-colonial, proud, and Edenic:

> When Erin first rose from the dark-swelling flood,
> God bless'd the green island, He saw it was good:
> The Emerald of Europe, it sparkled it shone,
> In the ring of this world the most precious stone!
>
> In her sun, in her soil, in her station, thrice blest,
> With back turn'd to Britain, her face to the West,
> Erin stands proudly insular, on her steep shore,
> And strikes her high harp to the ocean's deep roar.[11]

There is a key transition here, from Ireland as island or gem to Ireland as female personification – with face, pride, and harp – and it takes place as Ireland is translated from a natural space to a nation under colonial rule. Naturally, Ireland is a beautiful green island. Nationally, it turns to the West (the post-colonial United States), leaving its "back turn'd to Britain." Colonially, it is a grieving woman:

> But when its soft tones seem to mourn and to weep,
> The dark chain of silence is cast o'er the deep;
> At the thought of the past, tears gush from her eyes,
> And the pulse of her heart makes her white bosom rise. (1)

But this grieving woman demands that the people share her lament, and represents the colonial nation as an inversion of the natural Edenic state, declaring,

> O, sons of green Erin! lament o'er the time
> When religion was – war, and our country – a crime,
> When man, in God's image, inverted his plan,
> And moulded their God in the image of man . . .
>
> When with pale for the body, and pale for the soul,
> Church and state join'd in compact to conquer the whole;
> And while Shannon ran red with Milesian blood,
> Ey'd each other askance, and pronounc'd it was good! (2)

Revising the earlier phrase, "He saw it was good," a clear allusion to Genesis, to "Church and state . . . Ey'd each other askance, and pronounc'd it was good," Drennan characterizes the colonial condition as one in which earthly institutions usurp God's authority and performative speech acts. This does more than simply demonize colonialism, but also offers an unanswerable justification of Erin's lament; that is, within the terms of moral theory, Erin has the justification not only of seeing God's will usurped, but also of witnessing suffering. Drennan quickly adds ancestors' groans and "the Demon of Bigotry" (2) to reinforce both the religious and moral impetus to lament.

Finally, after justifying her demand that the "sons of green Erin . . . lament o'er the time" (2), she asks for action, but noble action that does not fall into the moral quagmire of the colonial side and is sanctified by the support of Irishwomen:

> Arm of Erin! prove strong, but be gentle as brave,
> And, uplifted to strike, still be ready to save;
> Nor one feeling of vengeance presume to defile
> The cause, or the men, of the EMERALD ISLE.
>
> The cause it is good, and the men they are true;
> And the green shall outlive both the orange and blue;
> And the daughters of Erin in her triumph shall share,
> With their full-swelling chest, and their fair-flowing hair.
>
> Their bosoms heave high for the worthy and brave,
> But no coward shall rest on that soft swelling wave;
> Men of Erin! awake, and make haste to be blest!
> Rise, arch of the ocean! rise, queen of the West! (2–3)

Drennan emphatically situates the national cause as the just one: the phrase, "The cause it is good," once again puts God, who "saw it was good" (1), on the side of the Irish; the cause is also undefiled because "the men they are true" as well as worthy and brave. The "share" of the daughters in Erin's "triumph," as well as their beauty and support for the fight, suggests that Irishwomen are echoes of Erin herself. This echo is physical as well as national and gendered, insofar as their "full-swelling chest[s]" echo the "dark-swelling flood" from which Ireland rises and their heaving bosoms recall the rising "white bosom" of Erin. But there is a provocative difference. The threat, "no coward shall rest on that soft swelling wave," has two implications because of the iteration of "swelling": first, no son of Erin who fails to fight will rest in Ireland; second, no son of Erin who fails to fight will enjoy physical intimacy with Irishwomen. Irishwomen symbolize at once the space of the nation and the erotic reward for Irish heroes.

Various aspects of this gendering of Ireland appear throughout Moore's *Irish Melodies* (published in a series of numbers between 1807 and 1834), especially the Erin poems and the poems of exile. I use the term "Erin poems" to denote the *Melodies* with "Erin" in the title,[12] because the "Erin poems" form, if not a series, then an aggregate, centred in the first three numbers of the *Irish Melodies*, in which each poem offers a variation on the female personification of Ireland. Thus, in "Erin! The Tear and the Smile in Thine Eyes," the weeping Erin and the vivacious Erin are united, so that "the tear and the smile in thine eyes / Blend like the rainbow" which, at the end of the poem, becomes the "arch of peace" (*IM*, 7). In "Tho' the Last Glimpse of Erin with Sorrow I See," the identification of the female Irish beloved with the nation is made explicit, but as a compensatory substitution: "wherever thou art shall seem Erin to me; / In exile thy bosom shall still be my home" (*IM*, 15). In "Let Erin Remember the Days of Old," Erin is betrayed by those who should have defended her (*IM*, 36–7). In "Erin, O Erin," the spirit of Ireland is re-born amidst images of dawn and spring: "bright thro' the tears / Of a long night of bondage, thy spirit appears" (*IM*, 47). In "As Vanquished Erin," a much later poem from the second-last number of the *Irish Melodies*, Moore returns to the weeping Erin, but without the consolation of the vivacious Erin (*IM*, 213–4). Overall, in the wake of the failed uprisings of 1798 and 1803, Moore oscillates between an Erin wronged by those who should have saved her, and an Erin that will, as in United Irishmen writings, soon rise triumphant. In the *Melodies*, moreover, Moore consistently identifies

liberated Ireland with the chaste treatment of women and colonial Ireland with false or wronged women. Thus, in "Rich and Rare Were the Gems She Wore," a bejewelled woman can walk, unprotected, in the conviction that Irishmen will treat her respectfully: "I feel not the least alarm, / No son of ERIN will offer me harm: – / For though they love woman and golden store, / Sir Knight! they love honour and virtue more!" (*IM*, 16). Love of nation and heteronormative desire are conflated within an ethics that demands respect to and assumes the virtue of both woman and nation.

In Moore's "The Song of O'Ruark, Prince of Breffni," however, the prince discovers that his wife, Dearbhorgil, has left with her lover, the king of Leinster, who "could not restrain his passion" (*IM*, 106*n*):

> There *was* a time, falsest of women!
> When BREFFNI's good sword would have sought
> That man, thro' a million of foemen,
> Who dar'd but to wrong thee *in thought*!
> While now – oh degenerate daughter
> Of ERIN, how fall'n is thy fame;
> And thro' ages of bondage and slaughter,
> Our country shall bleed for thy shame.
>
> Already, the curse is upon her,
> And strangers her valleys profane;
> They come to divide – to dishonour,
> And tyrants they long will remain.
> But onward! – the green banner rearing,
> Go, flesh every sword to the hilt;
> On *our* side is VIRTUE and ERIN,
> On *their's* is the SAXON and GUILT. (*IM*, 107–8)

The slippage between the body of the false wife and that of the true nation is striking, particularly as the "degenera[cy] of the daughter" leads to the violation of the virtuous national mother. In the final lines, Moore redirects his attention from a lament for the feminine fall which leads to the loss of national paradise to the reclaiming of it through an emphasis on the still virtuous "Erin." In "We May Roam Thro' this World," Moore represents Irishwomen as naturally virtuous and so self-disciplining in ways that their English counterparts are not:

> In ENGLAND, the garden of Beauty is kept
> By a dragon of prudery placed within call;
> But so oft this unamiable dragon has slept,
> That the garden's but carelessly watch'd after all.

Oh! they want the wild sweet-briery fence,
  Which round the flowers of ERIN dwells;
Which war[m]s the touch, while winning the sense,
  Nor charms us least when it most repels. (*IM*, 32)

In Moore's *Melodies*, then, Erin is identified with absolute virtue and absolute desireability, and Irishwomen are enjoined to emulate the national figure. At the same time, however, Irish men are associated with uncontrollable passion and are asked to "flesh every sword to the hilt" (*IM*, 108); they embody, if not personify, desire. In the more or less apolitical love lyrics, however, the male speaker is at the mercy of his sexual desires, and women are less ideally represented:

The time I've lost in wooing,
In watching and pursuing,
  The light, that lies
  In woman's eyes,
Has been my heart's undoing.
Tho' Wisdom oft has sought me,
I scorn'd the lore she brought me,
  My only books
  Were woman's looks,
And folly all they taught me. (*IM*, 131)

Moore thus follows the erotic-national logic of his contemporaries, but develops a hierarchy of female figures in which Erin and her individual avatars are placed on a higher moral and erotic rung than women without national affiliation. While Irish men are represented as consistent in their desire, their virtue varies with that of the objects of their desire – a distinction that Moore also pursues in *Lalla Rookh* (see Chapter 3).

Even when the representation of Ireland is at its most pathetic, the erotic still asserts itself. In "Erin" (1822), Thomas Bayly deploys the common inspirational scene in which the poet and his female muse interact as the poet seeks creative inspiration. But Bayly replaces the muse with "Hibernia," and motivates the author through sympathy for the suffering of the Irish people. The poet is told to write a work that will raise money for the Irish poor; and, indeed, the title page assures us that "The Profits [are] to be added to the Fund raising for the relief of the Distressed Peasantry in the South of Ireland." Hibernia commands the poet,

    tell the simple tale of Erin's woes,
Tell it, and many British hearts will feel

For those who want, and answer the appeal: –
Here high-flown, flowery phrases would be lost;
The tongue says little, when the heart feels most.[13]

In Part the Second, after representing England as a land of plenty and peace – "If England's isle is favour'd; if her plains / Are sown and reaped by happy, healthful swains" – Bayly's speaker begs the English to send some of their "overplus to other isles" (21):

Send forth the willing tribute, every deed
Of Charity is blessed, and it shall lead
To a more perfect union. Erin feels
The kindness of the friendly hand which heals
Her present wounds: – Oh! may dissension cease;
May perfect confidence, and perfect peace,
Unite the sister kingdoms – ne'er to part,
Cemented by a union of the *heart*. (22–3)

Hibernia, as muse, inspires a text which makes a spectacle of Irish poverty and suffering in order to elicit a particular sympathetic response. At the end of the poem, the speaker asserts,

None depart
From Erin without heaviness of heart;
Without a sigh for many pleasures past,
And prayers those pleasures may not be the last:
The *Englishman*, with fondness, ere he goes,
Twines, next his heart, the *Shamrock* with the *rose*. (28)

England is thus the site of plenty and "happy, healthful swains," and Erin that of suffering and want. Irishmen "live / In discontent and pain" (25), and Englishmen are asked to be more sympathetic through attention to the suffering of the Irish. This closely follows the paradigm outlined by Nancy Roberts, in which men feel and women suffer to excite feeling: in what Roberts terms "schools of sympathy," sentimental pedagogy is directed towards the education of men, using women only as object lessons and catalysts.[14] In Bayly's poem, this extends to the Irish people as a whole, but women are emphasized (as in later depictions of the Great Famine): "I saw a frantic mother press her child / In her thin arms; and then with utterance wild / She called upon her husband; but in vain . . . in despair / She kissed her little one . . . And cried in hopeless anguish '*it is dead*' " (10). This spectacle is not directly sexual, as in Drennan's "Erin," but arouses sympathy by producing a spectacle of pain: "our sympathy – and the pleasure we seem to take in it – depend

on the violence and suffering inflicted on those who appear as spectacles before us."[15] Thus, the sympathy produces an Englishman who regards Ireland with "fondness" and recalls "pleasures past" (28).

In all of these works – Porter's satire, Teeling's history, Drennan's lyric, Moore's Erin poems, and Bayly's poetic plea for famine aid – Ireland is figured as a virtuous, desireable but plaintive woman who solicits aid from men who associate her with pleasure of some kind. Before the male gaze, she is at once pathetic and attractive, nationally powerless but erotically powerful. Although complicated by such writers as Morgan, the iconic Erin – symbolizing patriotic desire as well as the virtue of the patriotic cause – remained powerful in Irish nationalist discourse. The notorious Playboy-riots of 1907, fuelled by outrage over J.M. Synge's earthy portrayal of Irish womanhood in *The Playboy of the Western World*, mark the well-known pairing of national integrity with female chastity. But, in these Romantic-era deployments of the icon, female chastity, through the discourse of sensibility, signifies the legitimacy of the national cause on moral terms.

REFORMING THE IMPERIAL SUBJECT: SENTIMENTAL EDUCATION IN MORGAN'S 'THE WILD IRISH GIRL'

The marriage metaphor for colonial relations is a common one in nineteenth-century novels, most famously, perhaps, in *The Wild Irish Girl* by Sydney Owenson, later Lady Morgan.[16] The metaphor appropriates the personification of Ireland discussed above as well as the conventional feminization of the colonized to develop a reassuring trope in which the "feminine" colonized is united by love, rather than force, with the "masculine" colonizer, erasing the violence of colonization but not, given patriarchal mores, the ascendancy of the colonizer over the colonized. This marriage metaphor has recently been discussed by Mary Jean Corbett as well as more briefly by a number of other critics,[17] but I wish to extend this discussion by addressing the metaphor in the context of the discourse of sensibility. For Morgan, influenced by Wollstonecraft, Ireland is personified by a rational, well-educated woman who enjoys relationships with men that are based on intellectual exchange and mutual respect. Her eponymous heroine, Glorvina, is assertive, well-read, and, like Wollstonecraft's ideal, healthy and athletic, "like Grisset's beautiful personification of Health" (*WIG*, 70).[18] Father John's hyperbolic enumeration of her talents, intuitive genius, and scholarly accomplishments includes his declaration, "Her ambitious mind even challenged

rivalry with mine" (*WIG*, 68–70) – no mean compliment from a well-educated scholar. Despite being disinherited and impoverished, she is not the suffering heroine of the sentimental spectacle, although she takes on some of those attributes in the closing pages of the novel. Instead, she is a figure of rationally and morally supervised sensibility, keenly sympathetic to others in the community and responsive to cultural works associated with emotion.

The force of sensibility in *The Wild Irish Girl* is such that a cautionary tale by a contemporary Irish novelist, Regina Maria Roche, focuses on a young woman who is seduced after a rake takes advantage of her warm response to "that dangerous passage . . . where Glorrina [*sic*] and her lover sit by the window."[19] While Roche implies that Morgan's writing is perilous to the virtue of its young lady readers, *The Wild Irish Girl* rather stresses the moral and psychological peril of an underdeveloped sensibility. In the early pages of the novel, Morgan insistently constructs the sensibility of Horatio, her English protagonist, as aesthetic rather than moral, responsive to scenes and narratives as objects to be evaluated rather than entered into via feeling. Through Horatio's education, Morgan suggests that knowledge of a national culture and history allows access to the national character and thus the possibility of a more profound sympathy rooted in a wider aesthetics (as sensory response rather than merely intellectual response to form) than that which is concerned only with beauty. Morgan, following Brooke, also makes sensibility the keynote of the Irish national character. Brooke claims, for instance, that Irish music is characterized by a "tender pensiveness," that "there is no other music in the world so calculated to make its way directly to the heart: it is the voice of Nature and Sentiment, and every fibre of the feeling breast is in unison with it," and that the Irish language is "peculiarly suited to every subject of Elegy; and, accordingly, we find it excel in plaintive and sentimental poetry."[20] It is exposure to this affecting culture that functions as the catalyst for Horatio's revolution in feeling.

The Wild Irish Girl is an epistolary novel and thus generically located in the sentimental tradition. J. Th. Leerssen suggests,

The Wild Irish Girl is a very uneasy blend of fictional narrative and referential discourse. The narrative, the fiction, is a love story. . . . [I]t is the story of faltering voices, trembling hands, faintings and throbbings. But in the midst of all this passion there is also a discursive element which offers observations on Irish life and antiquity, matters of curiosity and political relevance. . . . A piece of pro-Irish propaganda disguised as a novel: clearly those two aspects are difficult to reconcile, and Morgan, who is in constant danger of losing sight of her love story

amidst her historical or anthropological digressions, has to resort to various strategems to keep her narrative and her digressive discourse together.[21]

In a recent discussion of the novel, Ina Ferris generatively recognizes the co-dependence of the "propaganda" and "throbbings": "In both literary and political terms, sympathy was understood to be the crucial lever, and the distinctive contribution of the national tale to public discourse on the question of Ireland was to mobilize the powers of sympathy in a particularly acute way."[22] The "love story," in other words, charges with emotion Horatio's, and by extension the reader's, growing sympathy with Irishness – a sympathy that is enabled by an education in Irish culture. Rational education is itself the bedrock of moral sentiments in the novel. Thus, the priest, who is both the family confessor and Glorvina's teacher, declares, "I left her mind free in the election of its studies, while I only threw within its power of acquisition, that which could tend to render her a rational, and consequently a benevolent being; for I have always conceived an informed, intelligent, and enlightened mind, to be the best security for a good heart" (*WIG*, 79). Exposed to "informed" and "benevolent" people, Horatio does himself become better-informed and benevolent – specifically, better-informed about Irish culture and colonial history, and more benevolent to the Irish people. The reformation of his sensibility, given the identification of Irishness with sensibility, is implicitly a form of assimilation. Horatio becomes not only better-informed and sympathetic to the Irish; he also becomes *like* the Irish, in a reversal of the mimicry described by Bhabha that is made possible by the valorization of moral sentiments over imperial power.

In the opening letters of the novel, Horatio represents himself as informed and possessed of considerable sensibility, but these self-representations are consistently undermined. His information is faulty, and his sensibility superficial and misdirected. He writes, for instance, "My prejudices have received some mortal strokes, when I perceived that the natives of this barbarous country have got goal for goal with us, in every elegant refinement of life and manners" (*WIG*, 16). In a survey of the "compact uniformity of Dublin" architecture, Horatio opines, "there is a certain class of wretches who haunt the streets of Dublin, so emblematic of vice, poverty, idleness, and filth, that disgust and pity frequently succeed in the minds of the stranger to sentiments of pleasure, surprize, and admiration" (*WIG*, 16). Horatio is well-schooled in the "theory of sentiment" (*WIG*, 68), but his "sentiments of pleasure" are generally limited to appreciation for a particular scene in the limited aesthetics

of beauty, and then overwhelmed by a "disgust" that emerges in relation to the economic deprivation of the Irish people.[23] His descriptions of the landscape are drenched in the language of Enlightenment taste:

> To him who derives gratification from the embellished labours of art, rather than the simple but sublime operations of nature, *Irish* scenery will afford little interest; but the bold features of its varying landscape, the stupendous attitude of its "cloud-capt" mountains . . . awaken, in the mind of the poetic or pictorial traveller, all the pleasures of tasteful enjoyment, all the sublime emotions of a rapt imagination. . . . But the liberality of nature appears to me to be here but frugally assisted by the donations of art. Here *agriculture* appears in the least felicitous of her aspects. The rich treasures of Ceres seldom wave their golden heads over the earth's fertile bosom; the verdant drapery of young plantation rarely skreens out the coarser features of a rigid soil, the cheerless aspect of a gloomy bog; while the unvaried surface of the perpetual pasturage which satisifes the eye of the interested grazier, disappoints the glance of the tasteful spectator. (*WIG*, 18–19)

This is not the "donation of art," but the agricultural reality of a land becoming all-too reliant on potatoes. Horatio, however, only compares the scenery to English standards of beauty and taste, as idealized in British landscape painting and poetry.[24]

Later, he meets an impoverished Irish labourer, Murtoch O'Shaughnessey, who tells him his sad tale. Needing wages to support his small potato farm, he has travelled some distance to earn some money but has fallen sick and is now unable to work. Meanwhile, back at home, his family is being evicted because he had not "worked out the rent" (*WIG*, 24). When Horatio meets him, he is returning from market having been unable to sell the rather unhealthy family cow for rent money. Horatio responds not to the suffering of the family, but to the delivery of the narrative: "This was uttered with an air of despondency that touched my very soul" (*WIG*, 25). Horatio continues by praising O'Shaughnessey's sensibility, "an heart thus tenderly alive to the finest feelings of humanity" (*WIG*, 25), and his stoic acceptance of economic deprivation, "patiently labouring with daily exertion for what can scarce afford [him] a bare subsistence" as "resignation smooths the furrow which affliction has traced upon [his] brow" (*WIG*, 25). William Wordsworth's spectator of rural misery regards a woman wailing under a thorn tree as an element of a sublime scene,[25] but Horatio, in this episode of the novel, even more closely recalls Marshall's point about the pleasure in sympathetically watching suffering. Referring to the songs of other labourers, O'Shaughnessey's peers, he writes, "every plaintive note breathes on the

heart of the auditor a tale of hopeless despondency or incurable woe. By heavens! I could have wept as I listened, and found a luxury in tears" (*WIG*, 27). Horatio's aesthetic, pleasurable response is implicitly contrasted with the O'Shaughnessey family's more sentimental response to a song about Henry VIII's suppression of an Irish hairstyle: "Almost every word of Murtoch's lamentation was accompanied by the sighs and mournful lamentations of his auditors, who seemed to sympathize as tenderly in the sufferings of their progenitors, as though they had themselves been victims to the tyranny which had caused them" (*WIG*, 29). Moreover, such sensibility is itself the marker of Irishness: after echoing traditional antiquarian claims about the sentimentality of Irish music and Irish appreciation for that music, Glorvina asserts, "Our national music . . . like our national character, admits of no medium in sentiment; it either sinks our spirit to despondency, by its heart-breaking pathos, or elevates it to wildness by its exhilarating animation" (*WIG*, 73).

Horatio's non-Irish, imperfect sensibility becomes attenuated into insensibility. Horatio complains on terms that anticipate the Irish protagonist of Edgeworth's *Ennui* (1809):

> I cannot now sit down, as I once did, and give you a history of my ideas or sensations, in the deficiency of fact or incident; for I have survived my sensations, and my ideas are dry and exhausted.
>
> I cannot now trace my joys to their source, or my sorrows to their spring, for I am destitute of their present, and insensible to their former existence. The energy of youthful feeling is subdued, and the vivacity of warm emotion worn out by its own violence. I have lived too fast in a moral as well as a physical sense. (*WIG*, 32–3)
>
> I can support this wretched state of non-existence, this *articula mortis*, no longer. I cannot read – I cannot think – nothing touches, nothing interests me. (*WIG*, 35)

Numbed and "worn out," Horatio bears the symptoms that John Brown genders as a form of debility that generally affects men: over-excitement has left him unable to respond to stimuli.[26] His cure is dramatic. He goes to the local church to investigate the family his own had disinherited, the Prince of Inismore and his daughter Glorvina; the Prince holds an inveterate hatred for Horatio's family as the descendants of the man who murdered his own ancestor, and so Horatio remains discreet. But, spying on the household, he falls from a ruined parapet wall, is "bereft of sense" (*WIG* 53), and then becomes newly sensible: on awaking inside the house, with Glorvina, her father, the family nurse, and Father John gently attending to his wounds, he declares, "Emotions of a character, an energy,

long unknown to my apathized feelings; while gratitude to those who had drawn them into existence, combined with the interest, the curiosity, the admiration, they had awakened, tended to confirm my irresistible desire of perpetuating the immunities I enjoyed, as the guest and patient of the Prince and his daughter" (*WIG*, 54).[27] He decides to assume the name of "Henry Mortimer" and the role of itinerant artist in order to remain under the Prince's roof.

This allegorical rebirth – a fall, the complete loss of sense, and then a "newly-awakened heart" (*WIG*, 55) and a new identity – marks the beginning of Horatio's development of a more refined and moral sensibility among people emphatically marked as benevolent (that key word in the discourse of sensibility): Horatio calls the Prince a "venerable and benevolent Chieftain" (*WIG*, 58) and repeatedly praises his "benevolence" (*WIG*, 56); the "benevolent confessor" (*WIG*, 61), Father John, has a "benevolent mind" and the "sentiments of a philanthropist" (*WIG*, 55, 57); Glorvina is also kind and generous, and favours the rose, "the flower of love" (*WIG*, 81), because "it speaks a language [her] heart understands. . . . It is the flower of sentiment in all its sweet transitions; it breathes a moral" (*WIG*, 82). Horatio notes his new sensibility after quoting the Prince's allusion to his family misfortunes: "These words were pronounced with an emotion that shook the debilitated frame of the Prince, and the tear which dimmed the spirit of his eye, formed an associate in that of his auditor. He gazed on me for a moment with a look that seemed to say, 'You feel for me then – yet you are an Englishman' " (*WIG*, 59). Instead of responding to the harmony of the scene, the tone of voice, or the "plaintive note," Horatio shares a tear and feeling *for* another; this is, in Adam Smith's terminology, "fellow-feeling," but it is based on immediate and intense emotional connection, itself a response to benevolence, rather than the aesthetic mediations of form as during his encounter with the impoverished Irish farmer. The sympathetic moment transcends national enmities when it is rooted in "fellow feeling" rather than aesthetics. Reformed sensibility not only allows Horatio to transcend national enmities, but also his own nationality.

Horatio's sentimental education is an education in Irishness, as the Irish are identified with a keen sensibility that has the sympathetic power to overcome national differences. There are explicit statements to this effect. "National prejudice," explains Father John, "ceases to operate when individual worth calls for approbation; and an Irishman seldom asks or considers the country of him whose sufferings appeal to his humanity, whose genius makes a claim on his applause" (*WIG*, 64).

Religious tolerance is quickly added to the list, as Horatio offers "another instance of liberality in the sentiments" of the family by noting that his attendance in church is not requested and "religion is a topic never discussed" (*WIG*, 85). The budding relationship between Glorvina, an idealized blend of sense and sensibility, and Horatio, her student in both, is part of this larger project as well as the most obvious symbol of it. Horatio's education begins independently of Glorvina, from exposure to the benevolence of the larger social group, to his own decision to learn Irish. And he begins, almost predictably, with the love songs praised by Brooke as emblematic of Irish sensibility. Morgan's editorial footnote to the introduction of the first lyric quotes Brooke's declaration that the Irish language is especially well-suited for love poems; so much so, indeed, that "two or three little artless words, or perhaps a single epithet, will sometimes convey such an image of sentiment or suffering, to the mind, that one lays down the book to look at the picture" (*WIG*, 89*n*). When Glorvina trivializes her rescue of an abused dog from some children, in a scene heavily indebted to liberal theories of education,[28] Horatio corrects her rhapsodically: "this dispensation of humanity, – this culture of benevolence in the youthful mind, these lessons of truth and goodness, so sweetly, simply given" (*WIG*, 95). As Horatio puts it, in an allusion to his libertinist past, "there is an infection in the sensitive delicacy of this creature, which even my hardened confidence cannot resist" (*WIG*, 96).

The novel thus not only participates in the national tale's use of the "romance plot of encounter to clear a space in the literary field wherein Ireland could move from cognitive object of knowledge to ethical subject of acknowledgment," as Ferris compellingly argues.[29] It also resituates national distinctions to align the English with "hardened confidence" and the Irish with the "culture of benevolence," so that Horatio's re-education is assimilatory: the Englishman does not learn to understand the Irish, but, by participating in that benevolent culture, becomes like the Irish. He learns their music, history, and language, as well as the sensibility that structures their social relationships. But the novel's final pages take a more insidious twist. While the conclusion of *The Wild Irish Girl* has been widely read as a comic one in which traditional and legal right is reconciled through what Robert Tracy has called "the Glorvina solution," Ferris suggests that "this is imperial romance with a distinctly abrasive edge" because of its simultaneous engagement with a travel discourse implicated in English hegemony.[30] But we can go further than this. Indeed, I would suggest that Morgan is critiquing the idealizing

impetus of the marriage trope for political union – a trope that long predates *The Wild Irish Girl*, though critics' emphasis on the tradition of the novel has obscured this. The discourse of Irish travel to which Ferris attends reaches back at least as far as John Leslie's *Killarney*: *A Poem* (1772), for instance. In *Killarney*, a "rural Wand'rer" describes a "Sylvan Tale" in which another wanderer drawn to rural scenes by a "love of Nature" discovers a female descendant of an Irish king who anticipates Glorvina in a number of details. The "Tale" ends, like *The Wild Irish Girl*, with the anticipation of their marriage.[31]

While Horatio's sensibility and attitudes towards the Irish are reformed throughout most of the novel, this reform is never allowed to come to political fruition. Glorvina's father dies, and with him the old order and the hope for decolonization. Horatio's father appears on the scene, almost in his place: Horatio's father was going to marry Glorvina himself to restore the family property to its indigenous heirs but, recognizing the greater propriety of his son marrying Glorvina, instead "pants to become [her] father" (*WIG*, 244). As Julia Anne Miller has noted, "After being orphaned and dispossessed of her ancestral lands, Glorvina has little choice but to finally avail herself of the Earl of M—'s promise of 'retributing the parent through the medium of the child.' "[32] It is the English father who asks for this marriage and it is he that turns it into the national allegory with which this novel is perhaps too narrowly identified:

> Take then to thy bosom *her* whom Heaven seems to have chosen as the intimate associate of thy soul, and whom national and hereditary prejudice would in vain withhold from thee. In this the dearest, most sacred, and most lasting of all human ties, let the names of Inismore and M— be inseparably blended, and the distinctions of English and Irish, of Protestant and Catholic, for ever buried. And, while you look forward with hope to this family alliance being prophetically typical of a national unity of interests and affections . . . lend your *own individual efforts* towards the consummation of an event so devoutly to be wished by every liberal mind, by every benevolent heart. (*WIG*, 250)

He then passes his Irish lands over to Horatio, and enjoins him to protect and watch over the Irish people. But the transformation sanctioned by "liberal mind[s]" and "benevolent heart[s]" is limited to the union of the aristocratic families "of Inismore and M—."

In the subsequent paragraphs, the Earl follows the common argument that Irish emotions can be harnessed with a few kind words and transformed from rebelliousness into earnest loyalty. He warns, "be ever watchful to moderate that ardent impetuosity which flows from the

natural tone of the national character, which is the inseparable accompaniment of quick and accute feelings'' (*WIG*, 251). Horatio's dependency on Glorvina and her family for his sensibility and new benevolence is set aside as Horatio is assigned the task of *managing* Irish sensibility, containing it and directing it towards the support of the colonial *status quo*. In this new English-patriarchal order, Horatio is not only to become his father's surrogate, but also a foster-father to the Irish: his father promises, ''place the standard of support within their sphere; and like the tender vine, which has been suffered by neglect to waste its treasures on the sterile earth, you will behold them naturally turning and gratefully twining round the fostering stem which rescues them from a cheerless and grovelling destiny'' (*WIG*, 251). A novel of sentimental education thus veers into sentimental mimicry as Horatio is transformed from would-be husband to responsible parent: instead of sympathizing with the Irish, or even enjoying a sentimental marriage, Horatio is commanded to become a foster-father to the Irish. Moreover, his father sanctions the command through the rhetoric of a benevolence that expects gratitude rather than finds its own reward in the end of another's suffering – a rhetoric that locates power on one side and subordination on the other. The jarring effect of the Earl's prescription for successful Irish rule is reinforced generically in the shift back to the gothic mode that Bridget Matthews-Kane has recently traced as well as in the resonant transition from the ''personal narrative'' of Horatio's letters to an omniscient narrative (an ''impartial narrative,'' like Jones's [50, above]) that yet declines to be explicit about the outcome of the Earl's letter.[33] While the narrative expectations of romance invite an over-reading of the conclusion as an assurance that Horatio and Glorvina will marry (and, indeed, that Glorvina wishes such a marriage), the pragmatically instructive tone of the conclusion looks forward only to a continuation of English domination under a superficially sentimental guise.[34]

ASSIMILATION AS ITERATION: FOSTER CHILDREN IN EDGEWORTH'S FICTION

In his letter, Horatio's father uses a trope that Maria Edgeworth employs extensively in her post-Union writings: fostering. Trumpener has discussed fostering under the heading of the figure of the nurse, but a number of narratives by Edgeworth involve paternal figures instead who represent access to the dominant culture and social power.[35] This access is broadly figured through education. As Esther Wohlgemut notes,

"In Edgeworth's Irish novels, education is the key to both individual and national improvement: it is the foundation of the well-governed estate and the foundation of the well-governed nation."[36] But education must be broadly defined to include sensibility and cultural values. In such texts as the story of Dominick in the *Essay on Irish Bulls* (co-written by Maria Edgeworth and her father, Richard Lovell Edgeworth), "Lame Jervas," *Ennui*, and others, a mentor, as a substitute father, re-educates the colonized or lower-class figure to comply with the values of British culture. The fostering model is provocative for two reasons: first, it retains the sense of intervention in natural (national) relationships but couches that intervention in the familiar and amenable terms of mentoring and implicitly fostering; second, Edgeworth addresses male-male mentoring, feminizing the subordinate as a student and child but offering the possibility of male adulthood at a later time, implicitly representing Ireland as not yet fully male rather than essentially female. In other words, the colonial intervention is acknowledged but valorized through its insertion into cultural and pedagogical traditions of child-rearing, and muted by its emphasis on male characters who can legitimately engage in a variety of relationships in the more fluid space of the public arena rather than female characters whose relationships had to be far more carefully and legally monitored to sustain standards of chastity and domesticity.

In both the story of Dominick and "Lame Jervas," Edgeworth begins with a suffering child and ends with a well-to-do worker grateful to his British mentors and patrons. In Chapter IV of the *Essay on Irish Bulls*, "Little Dominick," an Irish boy, is studying English under a Welsh schoolmaster who is as prone to making "bulls" as his student. But Dominick learns proper English as soon as an English student befriends him, tells him that he has "a home now in England" (*Essay*, 108), ensures that the schoolmaster is kind, and even, empowered by his social status, corrects the teacher's bulls. Dominick then quickly becomes extremely rich, as the usefully literate secretary of a colonial official in India, and is forever grateful, like the generous Irishman that he is, to his English mentor – he succeeds because of contact with the English and complicity in their cultural and territorial imperialism. By concluding that "Irish bulls" are not discernibly different from "bulls" made by other nationalities and praising innocuous characteristics as typically Irish (primarily imagination, good humour, loyalty, and being able to be "the first to laugh at the caricature of their ancient foibles" [*Essay*, 184]), while dismissing Gaelic heroes and Catholic saints, the Edgeworths construct an assimilable, controllable Irishness. Dominick synecdochically figures the

Irish; they will be good, loyal servants of the empire if properly anglicized. And the vehicle for this is fostering as an Irish cultural practice with which Edgeworth was familiar. Fostering becomes a metaphor for a specifically Irish process of mimicry in which the Irish can achieve a proximity to Englishness withheld from the colonial populations discussed by Bhabha, a proximity made possible by the union of familial and pedagogical motifs.

In *Ennui*, Edgeworth cites Sir John Davies' anti-Irish and pro-colonial text, *A Discoverie of the True Causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued* (1612):

> For fostering, I did never hear or read, that it was in use or reputation in any country, barbarous or civil, as it hath been, and yet is, in Ireland. . . . In the opinion of this people, fostering hath always been a stronger alliance than blood; and the foster-children do love and are beloved of their foster-fathers and their sept (or *clan*) more than of their natural parents and kindred; and do participate of their means more frankly, and do adhere unto them, in all fortunes, with more affection and constancy.[37]

Raising nurture over nature, Davies describes, as a common Irish practice, the means that Edgeworth suggests to institute and enforce colonial discipline. Dominick, Jervas, Glenthorn – again and again, Edgeworth's heroes receive paternal mentoring from a member of the English elite, and so "participate of [English] means more frankly, and do adhere unto them, in all fortunes, with more affection and constancy." These English foster-fathers typically encourage the pursuit of professional or managerial careers (particularly the law or colonial administration), enabling upward mobility through the very mechanisms that enforce English hegemony. The potential destabilizing effects of socioeconomic mobility are neutralized by the disciplinary force of sentiment – "affection and constancy" – while the potential destabilizing effects of sentiment are neutralized by the disciplinary force of hegemony-driven careers, generally understood as "duty." The protagonist is trapped by this fostering pincer-movement, and is transformed into an anglicized agent whose feelings and duties are mutually regulating. His reward is one of the startling "reversals of fortune" which, as Clíona Ó Gallchoir has recently argued, destabilize the narratives' realist aims in order to appeal to a lower-class readership and the Edgeworths' desire to transform it.[38]

In "Lame Jervas," a narrative in *Popular Tales* (1804), various paternal figures take on the role of foster-father and, in doing so, inculcate this double-discipline of sentiment and duty but for a different audience.

Edgeworth's notion of her readerships is almost as complicated as her position on Irish issues. While *Castle Rackrent* has long been noted for its subversiveness, her *Popular Tales* have little of the irony or ambiguity of that text, offering straightforward moral lessons pitched explicitly at the lower classes.[39] The *Popular Tales* thus favour the same easy-to-read fabular mode as Regina Maria Roche's *London Tales* (1814), a text radically different in its moral simplicity and narrative efficiency than Roche's novels from *The Children of the Abbey* (1796) to *The Tradition of the Castle; Or, Scenes from the Emerald Isle* (1824), just as the *Popular Tales* are quite different from many of Edgeworth's novel-length fictions. Jervas, the title character, is no Glenthorn or Ormond or even Sir Condy.[40] He is not an aristocrat with a complex life but an orphan who has lived most of his life in the mines, performing the same tasks day in, day out: "Buried underground in a mine, as I had been from my infancy, the face of nature was totally unknown to me."[41] He is from Cornwall, a Gaelic region that is quite literally in "West Britain," that moniker applied to Ireland by critics of the Act of Union (see Introduction). Lost to the "face of nature" – and the feelings with which "nature" is associated in Enlightenment thought – Jervas has all of the wrong role models: "I longed for a time when I should be a man, and do as I saw others do. I longed for the days when I should be able to drink and be idle; and, in the mean time, I set all my wits to work to baffle and overreach the viewer" (5). But, seriously injured in a mine accident, Jervas comes to the attention of the mineowner: "he had the goodness to come directly to me [Jervas] himself, to let me know that he had sent for a surgeon" (5). The surgeon "had the goodness to come down into the mine to set [his] leg" (5), and Jervas is morally transformed, avowing,

> Never shall I forget the humanity with which [the mineowner] treated me. I do not remember that I had ever heard him speak to me before this time; but now his voice and manner were so full of compassion and kindness, that I looked up to him as to a new sort of being.
>
> His goodness wakened and warmed me to a sense of gratitude – the first virtuous emotion I was conscious of ever having felt. (5–6)

The parallels between Jervas's "rebirth" and Horatio's are striking here: the protagonist falls, is disabled, is taken care of by benevolent beings, and consequently develops a new sensibility. But while Morgan's hero becomes respectful of the dispossessed Irish people and seeks to marry an Irishwoman, Edgeworth's learns respect for his "master" and becomes

a loyal worker. This concern with the development of an effective economy is hardly surprising: Edgeworth's debts in her fiction to Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* are well-established.[42] But my concern here is with Edgeworth's appropriation of the discourse of sensibility to unusual ends – working relationships rather than more typically "sentimental" ones. The mineowner, with "the most encouraging benevolence" (10), becomes a surrogate parent to Jervas: "Perhaps my feeling of attachment to him was the stronger, because he was, I may say, the first person in the world who had ever shown me any tenderness, and the only one from whom I felt sure of meeting with justice" (7). Jervas then proceeds to the house of Mr. Y—, the surgeon whose "goodness" is already established, and who now becomes Jervas's "kind benefactor" (17) by welcoming Jervas into his home and overseeing his practical education: "His advice was indeed of the greatest use to me: every word he said sunk into my mind. I wish those who give advice to young people, especially to those in a lower station than themselves, would follow this gentleman's example; and . . . would speak with such kindness as to persuade at the same time that they convince" (16–17).

Jervas, working as a loyal servant to a series of paternal masters, finally arrives at Madras in the service of the East India Company. Later working for Sultan Tippoo, he observes the sultan's son, who is the very opposite of his father – interested in science, fair-minded, observant, polite, and grateful. And he is so because of his exposure to Lord Cornwallis. Here Edgeworth's story enters the province of history, though not historical accuracy. Sultan Tipu launched various attacks on English forces in India in the 1780s and 1790s, and had moderate success, particularly at Seringapatam in 1791. But he was defeated in 1792, and Cornwallis, leader of the British forces, imposed a treaty and demanded the sultan's sons as hostages to guarantee the sultan's continued submission. In 1799, the British launched a final attack on Tipu; the sultan was killed in May 1799, five months before the date Edgeworth gives for the writing of "Lame Jervas." Edgeworth represents the hostage-taking as a fostering: "Prince Abdul Calie had been, when he was about twelve years old, one of the hostage princes left with Lord Cornwallis at Seringapatam. . . . Prince Abdul Calie was pleased to say, 'The remembrance of your noble countryman's kindness to me is as fresh and lively in my soul as those colours now appear to my eye' " ("Jervas," 37). Throughout this section of Jervas's narrative, the prince is represented on the same terms as the mineowner and Mr. Y—: the prince "cast upon [Jervas] a look full of benevolence" (50) and the mineowner "smil[ed] upon [Jervas] with the

most encouraging benevolence" (10); the prince investigates when Jervas is accused of stealing from Tippoo's mine (53), just as the mine-owner investigated thefts from his own mine to gain "proof sufficient of [Jervas's] fidelity" (10); the prince is interested in scientific knowledge (36–7), recognizes that Jervas has "in [his] possession . . . what might be useful to [Tippoo]" (42), and acts to take advantage of it, recalling Mr. Y—'s advice, "turn your thoughts to something that may make you useful to other people" (16). While Tippoo is painted in overwrought orientalist colours – childish, petulant, violent, war-mongering, tyrannical, self-indulgent, and unable to properly observe or critically evaluate those around him – his son, educated in his formative years (like Jervas), by a benevolent Englishman, thus acts in true "princely manner" (50). Throughout, however, this benevolence guarantees loyalty: as Jervas asserts, "I have reason to know that, even in the most debased and miserable state of existence, the human heart can be wakened by kind treatment to feelings of affection and gratitude" (47–8) (the material effects of which, in this episode, include a more productive diamond mine with grateful workers serving as Jervas's security guards).

Edgeworth repeats this general plot elsewhere – "The Grateful Negro," for instance, also in *Popular Tales* – but there are special implications in "Lame Jervas." First, and foremost, the central colonized figure in the latter half of the tale is not a poor peasant or slave, but a prince with considerable power who will inherit more. Taking place against the backdrop of Tippoo's preparations for war, the Indian part of the narrative suggests more efficacious means by which to avoid costly military confrontations: re-education through sentimentalized fostering. At every step of Edgeworth's story, a paternal "master" who is rational and kind commands unquestioned and ongoing compliance and loyalty. Managing Indian despots thus only becomes a matter of waiting a few years until their re-educated children take power, and re-education need not require another hostage-taking: the prince sees the wonders of occidental technology, asks for Jervas to be his teacher, and learns from him, as Jervas becomes, so to speak, the prince's Mr. Y—, specifically, a second benevolent teacher who emphasizes scientific training after the first benevolent teacher finishes conveying moral instruction. Moreover, Cornwallis's next assignment was the suppression of the 1798 uprising in Ireland and the passage of the 1800 Act of Union; Edgeworth dates her tale "1799" and published it shortly after the 1803 Irish uprising. As I have argued elsewhere, Edgeworth's tale thus has strong Irish resonances, suggesting that the benevolent instruction of the next generation will

prove more successful than armed conflict with the present generation – and suggesting to the "popular" readers of the tales that working hard for and being loyal to their masters will prove far more rewarding than illicit activity.[43] Jervas rises literally from rags to riches, and does so precisely because he is loyal and hard-working while all around him have tried to subvert his employers' authority. At once defending Cornwallis's relatively moderate administration of Ireland and encouraging compliance from the Irish, "Lame Jervas" offers benevolent fostering as the means by which to redefine colonial relations.

A few years later, in *Ennui*, Edgeworth further explores the regulation of proper feeling as a learned rather than an inherent ability. In *Ennui*, the satirized nobleman – lazy, self-indulgent, and frenchified through the ailment of "ennui" – is caught up in a tangle of nationalist identity politics, a tangle represented through the common romance device in which the hero's birth is concealed. Glenthorn, the narrator of the tale, was switched at birth with the rightful Anglo-Irish heir to the Glenthorn name and estate. The narrator is the child of the family nurse, Ellinor, and so one of the O'Donoghoes, an "*ould* family" reputed to have once been "kings of Ireland" (*Ennui*, 281); he was exchanged for the Anglo-Irish heir as a child because the nurse feared that the real heir would not survive and was as convinced that her own son would thrive. Glenthorn grows up, indulged by all and "in his [father's] prejudices" (*Ennui*, 145), returns to the estate, discovers the exchange, and having been partially re-educated by the Scottish estate-manager, Kelly, returns it to the heir (now known as Christy O'Donoghoe). O'Donoghoe, unprepared by education to manage property, ruins the estate, and ultimately it passes to the love-interest of the narrative, Cecilia Delamere, who Glenthorn marries after earning, through considerable hard work, his law degree and his general rehabilitation. As in *The Wild Irish Girl*, published two years earlier, this rehabilitation takes the form of renovating an overly aestheticized sensibility.[44] As in *The Wild Irish Girl* and "Lame Jervas," a fall and a sympathetic response from an Irish person to the injured protagonist initiates the reform in sensibility. Glenthorn falls from his horse while his Irish nurse watches: believing he is dead, she "burst into an agony of grief," and Glenthorn writes, "her lamentations went to my heart, for they came from hers. . . . The strong affections of this poor woman touched me more than anything I had ever yet felt in my life . . . [and] she excited in my mind emotions of tenderness and gratitude" (*Ennui*, 156–7). As in *The Wild Irish Girl*, Irish people in general arouse sympathetic feeling: "if they have hearts, their best feelings

cannot fail to be awakened by the warm, generous hospitality, they will receive in this country, from the cabin to the castle'' (*Ennui*, 176). But while the Irish must arouse Glenthorn's sensibility, Britishness must contain it with sense.

Glenthorn is ultimately recuperated through hard work and professional merit, and allowed to marry the Anglo-Irish woman who now holds the land. In other words, the indigenous Irish aristocracy can be restored to social power and the land through a kind of labour in civility (literature, the law, managing authority over servants) that earns them the right to marry the Anglo-Irish landowners and so resolve the competing claims of Irish and Anglo-Irish through marriage.[45] Edgeworth's narrative thus neatly reverses the gender and national polarities of Morgan's: in *The Wild Irish Girl*, the English man has legal claim to the land but must learn sensibility to marry the disinherited Irish heiress; in *Ennui*, the Irish man must learn English practicality in order to marry the Anglo-Irish woman who has legal claim to the land. Given the conventional gendering of the French as feminine and the English as masculine, Edgeworth requires the masculinization of the ''mere Irish'' as they were called, and offers Anglicization as the vehicle and Englishness as the standard of that masculinization; Glenthorn must learn, and disseminate, the Anglo-Protestant work ethic and earn the approbation of respected guardians of English law and English Protestantism in order to be redeemed at the end. Thus, while Morgan follows Brooke and others in making Irishness quintessentially and unproblematically sensible, the utilitarian Edgeworth uses that identification to represent Irishness, via its unrestrained sensibility, as a character in need of reform. In *Ennui*, the goal is not proper sensibility for the sufferings of others but the benevolent fortitude to do what is most practical for them – and what is most practical, of course, is what is most British.

Proper sensibility is not only contained by practicality, but also by a recognition of the value of the elite as the teacher of values. Burke famously insists that it is natural to look up with awe to those in power,[46] and Glenthorn explicitly identifies proper sensibility with such awe: discussing his unreformed self, he writes, ''We resist the efforts made by those who, we think, exert authority or employ artifice to change our determinations; whilst the perverse mind *insensibly* yields to those, who appear not to have power, or reason, or address, sufficient to obtain a victory'' (*Ennui*, 160–1; my emphasis). While Horatio learns from the Prince, Father John, and above all Glorvina, Glenthorn learns from a Scottish manager schooled in the precepts of that other work by

Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, the Anglicized Irish Lord Y—, and a professional English education. What Glenthorn learns is sense, as a check to sensibility, and Edgeworth makes it a social virtue of an economic rather than emotional sort. To return to that passage in the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*: "Though our effectual good offices can very seldom be extended to any wider society than that of our own country, our good will is circumscribed by no boundary" (*Theory*, 345). Edgeworth is less concerned with the potential for "good will" to transcend boundaries, and much more interested in making "good offices" "effectual." This form of nationalism has broad similarities to that described by Gellner, insofar as it responds to the unevenness of industrialization and modernization with an imagined economy to which all have access through hard work. It is imperial in its extension to Ireland, and in the context of the nationalist uprising of 1798, but its nationalist objectives, in Gellner's terms, are geared towards generating civil harmony through economic and cultural coherence.

Morgan thus emphasizes similitude through sensibility, identity (in the sense of sameness) rather than identification (through colonial classification), while Edgeworth follows mimicry very nearly in the sense used by Bhabha except in allowing the copy to approach so close to that which is copied. But in the writings of both, the family, as a sentimental construct, offers a paradigm through which various reframings of the colonial relationship can be articulated. Sensibility is the sign of proper familial affection, but the distinction between adult and child, male and female, circulate as marks of power that locate control over sensibility and thus the feeling colonial subject. In both writers' works, parent-child relationships are tacitly gendered and reflect asymmetries of power even as the sentimentalization of those relationships appears to mitigate inequities through co-dependency and affection. Fostering in particular emerges as a means by which to supplant the sentimental figures of Ireland-as-sister and Ireland-as-female-victim with the superfically sentimental figure of Ireland-as-foster-child – the child who is no relation but must work hard to fit into the new family, disciplining sentiment to become more like the rational English father.

CHAPTER 3

Travellers, Converts, and Demagogues

> "So, you say Theodore is willing to become a Protestant to marry you, Fanny; but have you, my dear, considered of it well?" "I have indeed, mother," answered Fanny. "And will you consent to marry a man that will change his religion for a mistress? If he does change, think how little devotion he can have at bottom; and where there is no religion, there is seldom virtue, and consequently no happiness."
>
> Regina Maria Roche, "Hold your Religion Sacred" in *London Tales*

In the nineteenth century, the British Empire relied extensively on religion as a disciplinary mechanism in both the literal and the Foucauldian senses.[1] In the literal sense of discipline, religious groups outside the Anglican or Christian fold were penalized in material terms, through incarceration and fines as well as a range of other punitive measures. In Ireland before 1829, for instance, Catholics could not hold political office or become lawyers, and various laws conspired to undermine their landholdings. In the Foucauldian sense of the term, those who were within the dominant religious fold were largely assumed to have internalized, along with their faith, a range of secular beliefs, including political values consistent with British hegemony. As R. Gregory Van Dussen notes of proselytization efforts in Ireland at this time, "Religious conversion, in other words, could be expected to produce political loyalty to the colonial regime. One is implied by the other, not through any theological necessity, but through the inner logic of imperial Protestantism."[2] The convert is a powerful figure in this rhetorical sleight of hand in which religion is equated with politics, a sign of the possibility of overturning religious affiliation and, simultaneously, of the difficulty of doing so if religion is understood not as a matter of faith but of identity. The sliding scale of proximity to the British state's official faith of Anglicanism, moreover, finds Methodists to be less threatening than Catholics in Ireland and Catholics to be less threatening than Muslims in India. My aim in this chapter is to explore some of the

representations of converts in orientalist texts by writers who also demonstrated a concern with the colonial response to religious difference in Ireland in order to address various literary uses of sentiment to query the conflation of religion and politics.

Addressing the complex intertwining of religion and politics in imperial discourse, as well as recent conversion efforts in both India and Ireland, a number of Irish writers in the early nineteenth century produced narratives that pivoted on the figure of the convert in "the East," including Sydney Morgan's *The Missionary: An Indian Tale* (1811), Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh: An Oriental Tale* (1817), and William Hamilton Drummond's *A Learned Indian in Search of Religion: A Discourse, Occasioned by the Death of the Rajah, Ram Mohun Roy* (1833). In Morgan's and Moore's texts, religious feeling serves as a metonym for national feeling as it is generally defined under sensibility. Religious feeling is, in such texts, rooted in family ties and cultural practice, and its authenticity is a mark of morality – of true feeling, loyalty, and religious integrity. Moreover, strategically, "religious feeling" tacitly challenges efforts to reduce resistance to the colonial project through religious conversions as well as policies of religious intolerance, a point Moore makes explicitly in his *Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of Religion* (1833). If, as we saw in Chapter 1, outraged national feeling motivates resistance to the colonial project on a number of fronts, then religious feeling could do so on a heightened register – as a sentiment rooted in relationships with both the divine and the community. Indeed, faith, community, and sensibility are so closely entwined in such texts that the convert is necessarily a pathetic figure, alienated from community and conflicted in sentiments. For Drummond, however, conversion marks the rightness of Christianity and the devastating social consequences of the convert's alienation from his native community is only a further testament of its undeniable truth.

MISSIONARIES IN THE COLONIAL IMAGINARY

These literary texts are part of and explicitly respond to a larger public debate about the merits of proselytization as an instrument of colonial policy. As Gauri Viswanathan has compellingly argued, conversion and colonialism were often uncomfortable bedfellows because the convert works against the deterministic categories that simplify colonial discriminations and which the British state was increasingly trying to transcend.[3] Nevertheless, the work of conversion was carried out on a variety of fronts

in nineteenth-century Ireland and India. It is not the purpose of this study to trace the material ways in which these two conversion projects were linked via personnel, publishing houses, and other mechanisms,[4] but a brief overview of the public debate in print about these projects will help to situate the literary explorations of the ethics of conversion that are the focus of this chapter.

In the early 1800s, proselytization was clearly linked to imperial aspirations in both India and Ireland. The Methodist movement, for instance, "used the dynamics of John Wesley's evangelical revival to extend English cultural hegemony among Ireland's Catholics," while establishing "the special direction (Conference 1801) that the missionaries should not speak against the Established Church [i.e., Anglican]."[5] Various Protestant publishing ventures sprang up, including "the Hibernian Bible Society (1806), the Religious Tract and Book Society (1810), and the countless smaller organizations gathered under the umbrella of the Irish Evangelical Society,"[6] aiming to produce conversions via reams of print. In his analysis of Methodist conversion efforts in eighteenth-century Ireland, Van Dussen goes so far as to call Methodist preachers the " 'shock troops' of English cultural imperialism."[7] The conversion of Catholics to Anglicans most obviously serves this logic since, on the simplest level, converts enact the substance of the oath required before Catholic Emancipation in 1829 by transferring their loyalty from the head of the Catholic Church, the Pope, to the head of the Anglican Church, the British monarch. But accounts of conversion also served to reinforce the otherness of the unconverted. Thus, in one of the conversion narratives discussed by Van Dussen, the priest not only "play[s] the villain's role, standing between acceptance of the Methodist Christ and continued enslavement to 'popish' superstition," but also "recommends alcohol as an antidote to Methodist preaching and as a substitute for attending Methodist meetings,"[8] aligning the unconverted not only with Catholicism and "enslavement," but also alcoholism – the newly emerging sign of Irish difference.[9] Such conversion narratives offered a stark choice: damnation or redemption, Irishness or Anglicization. These accounts not only laid out the means by which assimilation could be achieved through a religious program, but also imagined the severing of individuals from a religiously defined political body that posed a threat to imperial hegemony. But the convert, loosed from communal ties as well as associated with a weakness of faith, could remain a subject of suspicion – like Bhabha's mimic, the convert never fully belongs. In her moralizing *London Tales*, for instance, Roche represents conversion as a step towards

atheism: "If he [a convert] does change, think how little devotion he can have at bottom; and where there is no religion, there is seldom virtue, and consequently no happiness . . . and do not be surprized, if in the end, he asks you, if there is a God."[10] Proselytization is thus a suspect political strategy, producing both political loyalty through religious conversion and conflicted subjects who, through conversion, demonstrate a lack of personal integrity that makes them untrustworthy – and, when attempted with those who have a strong sense of faith and integrity, more likely to provoke rebellion than solicit loyalty.

Concerns about conversion are revealed by various controversies that were played out in the British press over the post Warren-Hastings administration in India. At the turn of the century, East India Company (EIC) officials, particularly those with experience in India, tended to support the view (which went largely unheard by officials in Ireland) that pressuring colonial subjects to convert would only arouse or intensify resentments.[11] In 1807, for instance, after the Society of Missionaries published some anti-Islamic and anti-Hindu tracts in India, the Governor General wrote a letter of complaint to the EIC's Directors. He condemns their tracts for including "the most direct and unqualified abuse of the principles and tenets of . . . the Mahomedan religion," "strictures upon the characters of the Hindoo deities, tending to place them in a hateful or disgusting light," and asks for the power to vet their future publications and limit any increase in the number of missionaries.[12] The subject had long been a controversial one. François de Bernier, a seventeenth-century traveller who is cited in Morgan's *Missionary*, suggests,

> Our Christians of Europe ought to wish, and even to employ their power, care, and charity, that missionaries may be sent over all, such as may be no charge to the people of the country, and whom want may not induce to do mean things, as well for the reasons already alledged, as for this cause, that they may be ever ready to lay hold on all occasions, always to bear witness to the truth, and to labour in the vineyard when it shall please God to give them an overture. But for the rest we ought to be disabused, and not to suffer ourselves to be so easily persuaded of so many stories, and not to believe the thing to be so facile as some make it.[13]

While Bernier is less than optimistic about the missionaries' chances, a century later Alexander Dow argued against the project on the basis that Hinduism guarantees civil order, even under the pressures of colonialism:

> The Hindoo religion, in other respects, inspires the purest morals. Productive, from its principles, of the greatest degree of subordination to authority, it prepares mankind for the government of foreign lords. It supplies, by its well-followed precepts, the place of penal laws; and it renders crime almost unknown

in the land. The peaceable sentiments which it breath[e]s, will check the more warlike doctrines promulgated by the Coran. The prudent successors of Timur saw that the Hindoo religion was favourable to their power; and they sheathed the sword, which the other princes of the Mahommedan persuasion employed in establishing their own faith, in all their conquests.[14]

Dow's near contemporary and fellow Briton, Charles Grant, takes a different lesson from Indian history. In a detailed program for the cultural assimilation of the Indian population that Viswanathan aptly terms "amazingly candid," he writes,

To introduce the language of the conquerors, seems to be an obvious means of assimilating the conquered people to them. The Mahomedans, from the beginning of their power, employed the Persian language in the affairs of government, and in the public departments. This practice aided them in maintaining their superiority, and enabled them, instead of depending blindly on native agents, to look into the conduct and details of public business, as well as to keep intelligible registers of the income and expenditure of the state. . . . But undoubtedly the most important communication which the Hindoos could receive through the medium of our language, would be the knowledge of our religion.[15]

In 1813, when Grant's *Observations* were belatedly published, James Mill's notorious *History of British India* was just four years from publication. In his *History of British India* Mill excoriates Sir William Jones for viewing Indian culture as venerable instead of atavastic and stultified, as the balance was tipped towards unapologetically strident forms of cultural and religious intolerance.

The published debate over events at Vellore in 1806 often pitted officials in India against those in Britain, contributing to a polarization of British discourse on proselytization in India that paved the way for Grant and Mill. Briefly, on 9 July 1806, a number of "Sepoys" rose up against British officers in Vellore in a brief, but bloody, mutiny that produced a variety of textual responses which chart the contours of public debate on religion and colonialism. In 1806, the British military was in the midst of a difficult period: recent events included the mutiny on the Bounty in 1789 and the trial of the few Bounty mutineers they could capture in 1792, mutinies at Spithead and the Nore in 1797 which left large sections of the English coast undefended for weeks during conflict with Revolutionary France, and the "Rum Rebellion" (the second mutiny against the star-crossed Captain Bligh) of 1808 was on the horizon. It is consequently not surprising that various reports on Vellore reveal an anxiety about admitting poor judgment on the part of British officers

or administrators. The "Report of the Commission" (9 August 1806) charged with investigating events at Vellore represents the uprising as the consequence of a Muslim conspiracy. Their theory was consistent with the general position of the EIC at the time, particularly in the wake of the Rohilla war and the publications of such authorities as Dow, in demonizing the Muslim population of India and infantilizing the Hindus.[16] Thus, in the "Report," the Hindu soldiers are represented as naturally loyal and subservient, and so "the outrages on the late occasion were of foreign growth, and could only have been inspired by a barbarous Enemy";[17] the "barbarous Enem[ies]" deemed responsible for inciting rebellion among the loyal troops at Vellore are the sons of Sultan Tipu, who had, in effect, been exiled to Vellore after Tipu's defeat at Seringapatam (and had so recently figured in Edgeworth's "Lame Jervas" as the compliant Prince Abdul Calie). Tipu's family was Muslim, and so the report follows the cardinal points of Dow's assessment – Hindus are capable of the "greatest degree of subordination," while Muslims are "warlike" – and the substitution of religious affiliation for political position in public discourse more broadly. Vellore is thus represented as a Muslim insurgency instead of, for instance, an attempt by a disempowered group of aristocrats to regain their traditional power in the region.

The governor of Vellore in 1806, William Cavendish Bentinck, collated a wide range of materials and published them as a *Memorial* in order to dispute this anti-Muslim conspiracy theory. According to Bentinck, the cause of the mutiny at Vellore was a lack of regard for the religious feelings of the Sepoys in some recently instituted regulations. The Commission quotes the controversial rules:

> By a late Order of his Excellency the Commander in Chief, of the 13th March 1806, Section XI. paragraph 10 – "It is ordered by the Regulations, that a Native Soldier shall not mark his face to denote his Cast, nor wear Earrings, when dressed in his Uniform; and it is further directed, that at all Parades, and upon all Duties, every Soldier of the Battalion shall be clean shaved on the chin. It is directed also, that uniformity shall be preserved in regard to the quantity and shape of the hair upon the upper lip, as far as may be practicable."[18]

There was also a new uniform turban, to be issued to all troops after enough had been produced. One officer, Colonel M'Kerras, "had resolved not to communicate [the order] to his Sepoys, as he was convinced that it would be the cause of great dissatisfaction," but knowledge

of the order apparently circulated by unofficial means.[19] The Commission writes,

> The article of Dress is, both with the Hindoos and the Mahommedans, an indication of their cast, and a badge of their respective distinctions and places in society; and when it is recollected how obstinately the Indians of all descriptions adhere to their Customs, and with what difficulty the Natives were brought to adopt many parts of their present Military Dress, it will not appear surprising that some of the late innovations in that respect were offensive to their feelings.
>
> The Sepoys appear to have felt, that the wearing of the new Tarband [*sic*] would make them come to be considered as Europeans, and would have removed them from society and intercourse of their own Casts.[20]

In other words, a disregard for cultural and religious customs raised fears of an assimilation to Britishness that would fundamentally alienate the Sepoys from Indian social groups with which they felt closely allied – in other words, they feared conversion. This, as the 1809 Minutes from the Court of Directors suggest, became the more famous cause of the uprising: "the impressions *universally entertained, both in India and Europe*, at the breaking out of the Vellore Mutiny, that it was occasioned by the wanton or needless violations of the religious usages of the Natives . . ."[21] The published debate over the causes of the mutiny at Vellore thus divided into two camps: one, which included Bentinck and other officers, held that imposing British norms of dress had outraged the soldiers' profound commitment to their communities' customs; the other, largely expressed by officials in London, was that a group affiliated with a religion they deemed inherently hostile had been the unprovoked aggressor, even an invader (thus, "the outrages on the late occasion were of foreign growth"), and that a group affiliated with a religion they deemed inherently submissive had been entirely innocent.

This is not the place for a detailed exploration of Vellore, but this summary of the published response to it outlines the ways in which assertions of religiously based conspiracies and popular resistance proliferated in the face of evidence to the contrary. In the binary logic of the Commission, Hindus are loyal and Muslims are treacherous – in a rather straightforward repetition of the general official position on Anglicans and Catholics, expressed, for instance, in the oath required by Catholic Emancipation. The Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 ended the exclusion of Catholics from public institutions by altering the oaths required by those institutions on points salient to the Catholic faith. But the newly formulated oath still asked oath-takers to "renounce, reject, and abjure

the Opinion, that Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any other Authority of the *See* of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their Subjects,"[22] registering the conviction that Catholics' politics followed the instruction of religious leaders. This parallel between EIC treatments of religious difference in India and government treatments of religious difference within the British Isles is readily understood as the product of the same dominant ideology which shaped British policy at home and abroad. But it also arises from the linking of these two colonial spaces as the sites of religiously motivated political dissent after the Vellore uprising in 1806. In 1810, for instance, J. J. Stockdale, the eventual publisher of Morgan's *The Missionary*, published tracts on both Vellore and Catholic emancipation, including William Petrie's *A Statement of Facts delivered to Lord Minto, Governor General of India, &c. on his late arrival at Madras* (1810) and Patrick Duigenan's *The Nature and Extent of the Demands of the Irish Catholics Fully Explained* (1810). From scores of articles in the periodicals to the literary texts I discuss below, religious toleration in colonial spaces was pursued as a significant practical and ethical concern in public discourse after Vellore.

LITERARY INTERVENTIONS: IRISH WRITERS ON RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

Thomas Moore, a Catholic who was successful at university but could not get his degree because of his religion, frequently turned to the subject of religious tolerance after Vellore. In *Corruption and Intolerance: Two Poems by an Irishman* (1808), Moore criticizes proselytization at length on terms that were influential for decades. For instance, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, a writer for the Irish nationalist periodical *The Nation* in the 1840s who later became one of Canada's Fathers of Confederation, used a passage from Moore's satire as the epigraph to his short story about intolerance:

> the victim of that canting crew
> So smooth, so godly, yet so devilish too,
> Who, arm'd at once with pray'r-books and with whips,
> Blood on their hands, and Scripture on their lips;
> Tyrants by creed, and torturers by text,
> Make *this* life hell in honour of the *next*![23]

On the subject of conversion, Moore was particularly caustic:

> Yes! – rather plunge me back in Pagan night,
> And take my chance with Socrates for bliss,

> Than be the Christian of a faith like this,
> Which builds on heavenly cant its earthly sway,
> And in a convert mourns to lose a prey;
> Which, binding policy in spiritual chains,
> And tainting piety with temporal stains,
> Corrupts both State and Church.[24]

Moore consistently argues that religious disputes are fueled by political interests to the mutual detriment of faith and political debate. In 1810, he launched a volley in the Veto Controversy, *A Letter to the Roman Catholics of Dublin*. In brief, the Veto Controversy refers to a debate reignited in 1808 over whether Ireland's bishops should be selected by Rome or the British government, submitting to the latter being the price for the amelioration of strictures on Catholics; discussions ultimately led to the Catholic Relief Bill of 1813, which made some progress through the parliamentary process before disappearing into a long list of failed attempts to remedy the position of Catholics in Ireland. Moore contended that most modern Catholic nations as a matter of national interest selected their own bishops and that it was a reasonable price to pay for emancipation. In his *Letter*, he extended some of his arguments in *Corruption and Intolerance*:

> It requires, indeed, but little range of history to teach us, that, however a difference of religion may have exasperated the feuds of mankind, it has seldom been, of itself, the sole originating motive of hostility. The power connected with creeds is always much more obnoxious than their errors, and Faith may wear her mantle of any hue she likes, as long as she is not suspected of hiding a sceptre under it. So little, in general, have states and sovereigns been guided, in their movements, by mere spiritual considerations, that we find them, as worldly policy dictates, combining in such motley alliances of creeds, as seem almost to realize the rambling dreams of scepticism. We see the cross united with the crescent against Christians; we find Catholics assisting Protestants to cast off a Catholic yoke, and, still more extraordinary, perhaps, within a very few years, we have seen papal badges about the necks of British Dragoons, as a reward for having defended the Pope, in his own capital, against Papists.[25]

In such passages, Moore not only critiques the conflation of religious affilation with political position but also overturns the causation which lies behind that conflation: religion does not cause politics, Moore argues, but the converse, as "worldly policy" always takes priority over "mere spiritual considerations."

In such a view, proselytization has to be understood as an instrument of "worldly policy" rather than a religious mission. Thus, Moore frames

his account of colonial abuses in Ireland in his popular *Memoirs of Captain Rock* with a tale of conversion. The fictional editor of the *Memoirs*, S. E., is an English missionary. In his "Preface," S. E. describes his journey to convert the "poor benighted Irish" and his meeting with the rebel leader, Captain Rock.[26] The Captain gives the missionary his Memoirs, a text that convinces S. E. that "it is the Rulers, not the People of Ireland, who require to be instructed and converted," thus converting the missionary.[27] S. E. first tries to convert others to his anti-colonial position by telling the Captain's story to his fellow missionaries: "The Ladies listened to my proposal with apparent interest, but no steps have, as yet, been taken on the subject – and the only result of my communication to them has been a Romance by Miss —, on the story of Captain Rock, . . . and which I shall not be surprised to find much more extensively read, than the Captain's own authentic Memoirs."[28] The edited manuscript, the *Memoirs*, is the missionary's second attempt at converting English leaders. Ironically, one of Moore's most successful prose works, the *Memoirs* went through at least four London editions in 1824 alone and was quickly translated on the Continent.[29] Part of the pre-Emancipation war of words, Moore's satire figures conversion as politics and uses political history to convert the would-be converters.

In the decade before Catholic Emancipation, Morgan too mocked the cost and inefficacy of various proselytization efforts, depicting converts as pathetic figures in her two last Irish novels, *Florence Macarthy* (1819) and *The O'Briens and the O'Flahertys* (1827). Converts are depicted as trophies put on display by the elite who are never allowed access to its political and social authority or truly welcomed into its social circle. In *Florence Macarthy*, one of her characters energetically condemns the entire practice:

"Then I'll tell you once for all, Miss Crawley," interrupted her brother in a passion, "I will not have my house made a magdalen asylum to a parcel of canting methodistical thieves, who are of no use but to set aside the simple *lethargy* of the church service, and to substitute the errors of the Presbyterians for those of the established faith. With your missions and missionaries, conversions and perversions, have you left me a tinpenny in my pocket to give to my own poor in New-Town Mount Crawley? And pray, what's gone of my one pound note that went to make Christians of the black negroes? Never saw a single sowl of them set foot in a church yet, barring Mrs. Casey's little black boy, that carries her prayer-book to early service. And I'd trouble you for my eleven and fourpence halfpenny, Miss Crawley, that you made me give to get King Pomarre, of the Otaheitee islands, to let himself be baptized; though faith I believe it was king of the Mummers."[30]

With her usual flair for the sly jibe, Morgan has her complainant invoke "the errors of the Presbyterians" and "those of the established faith" while substituting "lethargy" for "liturgy." While Moore questions the power of religion to affect "worldly policy," Morgan represents religious institutions as insincere ("canting") and insensible: Morgan's character clearly implies that benevolence should be directed at the suffering of the poor he sees, not the potential conversion of remote peoples he suspects are not the real beneficiaries of his "one pound note."

In the immediate wake of Vellore and debate over the causes of the uprisings, Moore and Morgan also both offered critiques of proselytization that, while still tacitly focussed on Ireland, draw on "oriental" settings – *Lalla Rookh* (1817) and *The Missionary* (1811). In both texts, proponents of religious intolerance and conversion are condemned, while sentimental narratives further idealize tolerance and religious freedom. As debates over Vellore and missionaries raged in official documents and the periodicals, *The Missionary*, which explicitly refers to Vellore, and *Lalla Rookh* went through edition after edition, ironically anticipating S. E.'s complaint that Rock's autobiography had been turned into a highly popular, but ineffectual, romance. Morgan's *Missionary* went through seven editions between 1811 and 1834, and was reissued in revised form after the Indian uprising of 1857–1858, as early responses to the so-called "Indian Mutiny" frequently cited Vellore as a precedent.[31] Moore's *Lalla Rookh* went through over thirty London editions alone, and was republished throughout the nineteenth century in a variety of languages and even in expensive illustrated editions.[32] The two works are, moreover, connected through more than the details of their setting, their publishing success, and the nationality of their authors. But, despite Dennis R. Dean's suggestion that Moore is heavily indebted to *The Missionary* and considerable attention to the two works in recent years, the connections between them have not yet been fully traced.[33] Plot points and paratextual material alone provide significant correspondences. Both texts are set in the same time period and include members of Aurangzeb's family: the title character of Moore's work is Aurangzeb's daughter; in *The Missionary*, Aurangzeb's nephew, Solyman, courts the novel's heroine, Luxima. Both Morgan's novel and Moore's prose-verse hybrid are nominally secured in an "authentic" East by footnotes and the two authors cite many of the same sources, including orientalist scholarship and travelogues by François de Bernier, Alexander Dow, Jean de Thévenot, John Henry Grose, and Sir William Jones.

Critics have already established the use of "the East" as a figure for Ireland in *Lalla Rookh* and *The Missionary*.[34] Indeed, even nineteenth-century readers recognized *Lalla Rookh* as a reference to Ireland. An early reviewer remarked, "The beauteous forms, the dazzling splendours, the breathing odours of the East, seem at last to have found a kindred poet in that Green Isle of the West. . . . It is amazing, indeed, how much at home Mr Moore seems to be in India, Persia, and Arabia."[35] In the Preface he added to *Lalla Rookh* on the occasion of its twentieth edition, Moore echoes this review:

> But, at last, fortunately, as it proved, the thought occurred to me of founding a story on the fierce struggle so long maintained between the Ghebers, of ancient Fire-worshippers of Persia, and their haughty Moslem masters. From that moment, a new and deep interest in my whole task took possession of me. The cause of intolerance was again my inspiring theme; and the spirit that had spoken in the melodies of Ireland soon found itself at home in the East.[36]

Closer political parallels were recognized by one of the text's Victorian readers. Lady Jane Wilde, a former contributor to the nationalist periodical *The Nation*, wrote of the same episode in *Lalla Rookh* as Moore in his preface: " 'The Fire Worshippers,' though the scene is laid in Persia, is, in fact, an episode of '98, and the portrait of Hafed, the young dauntless hero, is drawn from Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Though Moore sang of Iran, his thoughts were of Erin; and underlying every page of the poem is an allusion to the wrongs which Ireland has suffered from her conquerors."[37] Moore had also used the parallel earlier in Letter VI of his satiric *Intercepted Letters; Or the Twopenny Post-Bag* (1813), where he rehearses the analogy between Persian religious differences and Irish ones that he would use extensively in *Lalla Rookh*:

> We only curse them twice a day,
(According to a Form that's set)
And, far from torturing, only let
All orthodox believers beat 'em,
And twitch their beards, where'er they meet 'em.
>
> As to the rest, they're free to do
Whate'er their fancy prompts them to,
Provided they make nothing of it
Tow'rds rank or honour, power or profit;
Which things, we nat'rally expect,
Belong to US, the Establish'd sect. . . .
The same mild views of Toleration
Inspire, I find, this button'd nation,

> Whose Papists (full as giv'n to rogue,
> And only Sunnites with a brogue)
> Fare just as well, with all their fuss,
> As rascal Sunnites do with us.[38]

Moore documents the analogy by quoting D'Herbelot: "Les Sunnites, qui etoient comme les Catholiques de Musulmanisme" or, roughly translated, "the Sunnis are the Catholics of Islam." Pre-*Missionary* orientalist works by Moore, such as his 1806 poem "On a Beautiful East-Indian," neither draw such parallels nor use extensive notes.

My aim in the following sections of this chapter is consequently not to belabour these Irish-Indian parallels but rather to explore the ways in which Moore and Morgan strategically use the premises of sensibility, as in the works I have discussed in preceding chapters, in their literary representations of the consequences of religious intolerance. In *The Missionary*, sensibility overpowers religious and cultural prejudice as a Hindu priestess, Luxima, and a Catholic missionary, Hilarion, fall in love. The novel, however, ends tragically because the forces of dogmatism and intolerance are too powerful for the lovers to withstand: Luxima is exiled from Kashmir because of her relationship with Hilarion, and Hilarion is sentenced to death by the Inquisition in part because of his relationship with Luxima. In *Lalla Rookh*, the effects of sentimental verse narratives of amorous and patriotic passions are staged in the prose frame: the poet's audience sympathizes with the victims of religious dogmatism and imperial violence, while the hyper-religious critic, Fadladeen, boils with rage and the princess, Lalla Rookh, falls in love with the poet, Feramorz. Both works, however, draw on the literature of sensibility to elicit sympathy for the victims of the linked pursuits of religious intolerance and colonial domination.

SYMPATHETIC TRAVELLERS IN MORGAN'S 'THE MISSIONARY'

In her influential study, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, Mary Louise Pratt points to the genre of European sentimental travel literature as one in which feeling, particularly "conjugal love," is offered as "an alternative to enslavement and colonial domination, or as newly legitimated versions of them."[39] Sensibility, or feeling, in these texts conceals the violent relations of the colonial project, turning the (male) European colonizer into an object of admiration, loyalty, and love for the (feminine) colonized. In her first successful novel, *The Wild Irish Girl*, Morgan translates this paradigm into the Irish colonial context where

the renovation of the colonizer's sensibility, as if inevitably, turns him against a colonial discourse that reduces the colonized to the aesthetic (see Chapter 2). In this, Morgan departs significantly from the body of literature discussed by Pratt: in her writing, colonial activity is not conditioned by civilized sensibility, but is a consequence of its suppression. In *The Missionary*, such a variation on the sentimental travel plot is played out in Renaissance India: the Portuguese missionary, of aristocratic descent, travels through India, and his long-suppressed feelings are reawakened by contact with the beautiful Luxima, an Indian religious figure who, like Glorvina, is a blend of refined intellect and discerning but strong sentiments.

While the orientalism of the novel has been widely discussed[40] and its pessimistic view of an individual's power to transcend institutional barriers to inter-cultural sympathy is on the surface of the text (as my summary suggests), my particular concern here is the novel's engagement with the global extension of "national character" in the representation of peoples from different regions of the world as fundamentally different. In his discussion of Burke's turn away from Enlightenment universals to the determinacy of "natural" national character, Deane suggests that "what was once agreed to be universal human nature has been compelled to retreat, as if in a siege, within the national limits of the British state," and Burke was hardly the only one of the day to retreat on such terms.[41] But, retreats notwithstanding, each side continued to fire volleys in the debate. In the period of imperial expansion that followed the American Revolution, European travelogues were frequently predicated on a geography in which geophysical elements marked cultural divides: as travellers crossed oceans, passed the equator, or journeyed over mountains, they entered new cultural spaces, spaces that they represent as exotic, alien, unfamiliar, or otherwise "unknown." This geography, however, was challenged as it was developed. Thus, in *The Last Man* (1826), Mary Shelley offers a geography in which borders, oceans, and the dividing line between East and West are permeable, generating a global geography of connection and interdependence rather than discrete spaces.[42] In a similar vein, Saree Makdisi has noted the anxiety in Wordsworth's poetry over the increasing cosmopolitanism of London, an imperial hub rather than the centre of an insular nation.[43] In *The Missionary*, however, this connectivity is not viral, as in Shelley's novel, or epistemic or commercial, as in much writing on India in the period. Morgan instead constructs global connections as sympathetic,

using the universalist language of sensibility to question the newly emergent, and overdetermined, geo-cultural distinctions of empire.

Morgan's novel broadly charts the ascension of sensibility over prejudice, specifically of feelings of identification over institutionally enforced codes of difference. Volume I of the novel focuses on the title character, a Portuguese missionary named Hilarion. Much like Matthew Lewis's title character in *The Monk* (1796), he is an exemplar of virtue and the object of awe to his peers for that reason. Hilarion decides to go to India and convert the Indians to Catholicism. In Lahore, he sees the Guru of Kashmir and his granddaughter, the priestess Luxima – both powerful religious figures and devotees of Camdeo, usually simplified by Romantic-era orientalists as the "Indian Cupid." Hilarion is persuaded that if he converts Luxima, the rest of India will follow, and so he follows Luxima to Kashmir. It is here that his assumptions about India and conversion begin to fall away, assumptions that Morgan charts in the opening pages. As Hilarion approaches India, for instance, he surveys the landscape in the conventional terms of geographical-cultural difference:

> the imagination of the Missionary, escaping beyond the limits of human vision, stretched over those various and wondrous tracts, so diversified by clime and soil, by government and by religion, and which present to the contemplation of philosophy a boundless variety in form and spirit. Towards the west, it rested on the Arochosian mountains, which divide the territories of Persia from those of India – primaeval mountains! . . . which still embosom, in their stupendous shades, a nest of warlike states.[44]

But such imaginative constructions, dividing the world into tracts that vary by climate as they vary by religion, are only possible from a distance, while Hilarion is still on board ship and days away from arriving in India. When he arrives in India and begins to travel through these geographical spaces, he discovers the superficiality of such differences:

> Every where he found new reason to observe, how perfectly the human mind could bend its plastic powers to those restraints, which the law of society, the prejudices of country, or the institutes of religion, imposed. He felt, how arbitrary was the law of human opinion; how little resorted to were the principles of human nature; how difficult to eradicate those principles impressed on the character without any operation of the reason, received in the first era of existence, expanding with the years, and associating with all the feelings, the passions, and the habits of life. But these reflections, equally applicable to human character in the West and in the East, were now first made under the new impressions formed by the observation of novel prejudices in others, not

stronger, perhaps, but different from his own; and he whose life had been governed by a dream, was struck by the imbecility of those who submitted their reason to the tyranny of a baseless illusion. (102)

For both "East" and "West," the narrator divides reason and "the principle of human nature" from prejudice, dream or illusion, and habit. Hilarion's earlier geography in which physical borders partition culturally distinct spaces thus gives way to a language of "Every where" (102) and "the human mind" (102). Throughout Morgan's novel, such borders are represented as permeable or easily cast aside: India has "obviously influenced the manners and habits of western nations" (85), racial categories are confused (102–3), and so forth. And the central vehicle by which such boundaries are transgressed is sympathy, as "benevolent natures bear[ ] away the barriers of artificial distinctions" (102).

Thus, after much about Luxima's "superstition," Morgan comes to a key point: in the last chapter of Volume I, Hilarion tells Luxima, "Children of different regions, we are yet children of the same Parent, created by the same Hand, and inheritors of the same immortality" (112). Hilarion's attempt to convert her by making her, as much as he, subject to "the same Parent" backfires in the sense that it leads not to her conversion, but to his own fuller recognition of their similarity: "The result of this interview convinced him, that in the same light as the infidel appeared to him, in such had he appeared to her; alike beyond the pale of salvation, alike dark in error" (113–4). In Volume I, it is this mutual recognition of similarity despite deep cultural and religious differences that becomes the basis for the developing relationship. In one of the final paragraphs of the novel, they touch hands: hers "never before had known a human pressure" and this was the "first time the hands of a woman were ever folded in his own" (128). From this point on, Morgan peppers the novel with such points of similitude – Luxima casts her eyes to the earth, and then Hilarion does the same a few sentences later, for instance. In Volume II, Hilarion and Luxima both go through a crisis of faith because of their increasing attraction. For both, this crisis breaks down religious intolerance and even Hilarion decides that "his doctrine was too exclusive" (141). But then Hilarion and Luxima, having overcome their personal difficulties with each other's faiths, face their own social institutions' intolerance: Luxima is "excommunicated" (188) by her religious community and she and Hilarion are forced to leave Kashmir; outside of Kashmir, they are arrested by Hilarion's co-religionists, the agents of the Spanish Inquisition, who confine Luxima to a convent and condemn Hilarion to burn at

the stake. They ultimately evade institutional punishment, as anti-imperial feeling precipitates a crisis during the *auto-da-fe* in which Hilarion and Luxima can escape, but Luxima is wounded first and dies in Hilarion's arms, enjoining him to preach tolerance. Instead, he returns to Kashmir and lives a solitary life with a practice of worship that hybridizes their two religions – a religion of one.

Morgan's novel, however, is not entirely "benevolent." She maintains the feminization of the orient, and plays to racist anxieties about miscegenation by having these lovers bound by vows of chastity and ending the novel with Luxima's early and tragic death. But, while these aspects of the novel are certainly troublesome, they also serve to heighten the sympathetic impact of the narrative; suffering, especially the suffering of a virtuous woman, is the most powerful means of stirring sympathy in the lexicon of sensibility. As Balachandra Rajan notes, Morgan's "conspicuously enthusiastic cooperation with [imperial] discourse is partly so that she can seek out the openings in it and make use of those openings to let in the possibilities of" "a literary discourse of world humanism."[45] In *The Missionary*, that "literary discourse" is shaped by sensibility, and, as in Irish anti-colonial discourse, it allows the feminization of the colonized to elicit sympathy and moral approbation on terms with political effects (see Chapter 2). The literature of sensibility presumes a sympathetic circuit that links characters, narrators, and readers, and with that sympathy flows a bilateral recognition of virtue; that is, observers recognize that they are virtuous when they sympathize with others they recognize as virtuous. The sympathetic moment is at once reflexive and self-reflexive. In the context of Morgan's novel, Drennan's "fine sympathetic chain" links Luxima, Hilarion, the narrator, and the reader in another circuit, one that recognizes the fundamental virtue of Luxima and other "benevolent Hindus" (190), and draws in Hilarion as he becomes more sympathetic to Luxima, while the narrator maintains a relatively steady moralizing tone, mocking Hilarion when he is least sympathetic to others. Addressing readers well-schooled in the literature of sensibility, Morgan offers little information but a stark choice: sympathize with Luxima and the reformed Hilarion and be virtuous and "human," or do not and be immoral, irrational, and a servant of prejudice.

In *The Missionary*, the traveller's narrative circuit, and the reader's journey along that circuit, do not accumulate data but instead generate sympathy – a sympathy that undermines the differential hierarchies that inform orientalist and imperialist discourse. The tragic conclusion of

the novel heightens the text's pedagogical and political effect and, moreover, is consistent with the less-than-optimistic endings of many of Morgan's Irish novels. Luxima's death and Hilarion's long unproductive solitude excite a sympathy that evades and counters the emergent imperial discourse of geo-cultural distinctions as it was being consolidated into race theory and a notion of cultural development that mapped cultural difference on a sliding scale that runs without complication from the "primitive" to the "civilized."

EROTIC AND PATRIOTIC SENTIMENT IN MOORE'S 'LALLA ROOKH'

Formally, *Lalla Rookh* is relatively complex. In the frame narrative, written in prose, Moore follows Lalla Rookh's entourage as the eponymous princess travels from Delhi to Kashmir to meet her betrothed. The entourage includes the demagogue Fadladeen, the handsome poet Feramorz, and various ladies in waiting who echo, without the princess's restraint and self-consciousness, Lalla Rookh's responses to Feramorz and his recitals. The frame narrative punctuates Feramorz's performances of four poems, interrupting the longer narratives as well as marking the breaks between them. As the entourage travels, so does the poet: "The Veiled Prophet" is set in Persia; "Paradise and the Peri" is set "at the gate / Of Eden" and in India, Egypt, and Syria; the narrative of the "Fire-Worshippers" returns to Persia; and the final narrative is set in Kashmir.[46] The poem's recent critics have focussed on the first and third narratives, as the ones with the clearest political referents. "The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan" follows the fortunes of what is essentially a militant religious cult, led by an "imposter." In the "Fire-Worshippers," Moore focuses on a native religious group, oppressed and ultimately annihilated by an imperial and intolerant aggressor, and calls Persia, on this sole occasion, "Iran" – a name suggestively similar to "Erin," as Wilde's 1891 remark above attests.[47] As Javed Majeed argues in his important discussion of *Lalla Rookh*, Moore draws on the "common view of the intolerance of Islam" and his predecessors' suggestion of a parallel between Islam and Protestantism to forge the narrative's thinly veiled attack on the British and the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy.[48] But the allegory is energized by Moore's use of sentimental representations of patriotic feeling in "The Fire-Worshippers"; moreover, his representations of such feeling are intensified by the second and fourth narratives, despite their lack of clear political referents.

In the first verse narrative, "The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan," Moore addresses the missionary project and the mutually supportive strategies of religious proselytization and militarist expansion. The Prophet of the title, Mokanna, aggressively converts the hero and heroine of the tale. The hero Azim, a Bucharian (like Feramorz himself), is introduced as "a proselyte," "come to join, all bravery and belief, / The creed and standard of the heav'n-sent Chief" (13). Azim was attracted to the Prophet's "creed and standard" for political reasons:

> Soon as he heard an Arm Divine was rais'd
> To right the nations, and beheld, emblaz'd
> On the white flag MOKANNA's host unfurl'd,
> Those words of sunshine, "Freedom to the World,"
> At once his faith, his sword, his soul obey'd
> Th' inspiring summons. (14–5)

Mokanna promises the kind of political renovation that P. B. Shelley would later envision in *Prometheus Unbound* (1820):

> When the glad Slave shall at these feet lay down
> His broken chain, the tyrant Lord his crown,
> The Priest his book, the Conqueror his wreath,
> And from the lips of Truth one mighty breath
> Shall, like a whirlwind, scatter in its breeze
> That whole dark pile of human mockeries; —
> Then shall the reign of Mind commence on earth . . . (18)

The heroine, Zelica, is subject to a more overt and violent conversion. Half-mad in the belief that Azim is dead, she comes to the attention of Mokanna's forces:

> Such was the mood in which that mission found
> Young ZELICA, — that mission, which around
> The Eastern world, in every region blest
> With woman's smile, sought out its loveliest,
> To grace that galaxy of lips and eyes,
> Which the Veil'd Prophet destin'd for the skies! (23)

In a gothic ritual set in a "charnel-house" (26) and including the drinking of blood, Zelica becomes Mokanna's bride instead of Azim's and is named "Priestess of the Faith" (27). Moore represents Zelica as the key to Mokanna's hopes for acquiring more proselytes, just as the priestess Luxima is originally important to Hilarion as the means by which he too will acquire more converts.[49] Mokanna calls Zelica "Light of the Faith! who twin'st religion's zeal / So close with love's, men know not which

they feel, / Nor which to sigh for, in their trance of heart . . . What should I be without thee?" (38). As Mokanna's forces are defeated, the Prophet shows his true colours, declaring,

> I've but vanish'd from this earth awhile,
> To come again, with bright, unshrouded smile!
> So shall they build me altars in their zeal,
> Where knaves shall minister, and fools shall kneel;
> Where Faith may mutter o'er her mystic spell,
> Written in blood – and Bigotry may swell
> The sail he spreads for heav'n with blasts from hell!
> So shall my banner, through long ages, be
> The rallying sign of fraud and anarchy. (116)

"The Veiled Prophet" thus outlines the destructive ends to which religion can be wrought. In "The Fire-Worshippers," as Sharafuddin has noted, the emphasis is not on the bigots but on those who are oppressed by them.[50] Sharafuddin argues, "If in 'The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan' religion is treated in relation to the psychology of power, in 'The Fire-Worshippers' it is handled in relation to the sociology of identity," as Moore "develop[s] the idea of colonial conquest in terms of a contrast of cultures, and more particularly of religions."[51] By pairing "The Veiled Prophet" and "The Fire-Worshippers," Moore examines the two sides of the conflict – just as Morgan does in *The Missionary* by viewing the *auto-da-fe* first from Hilarion's perspective, and then from those of the two leading Indian characters of the novel, the Pundit and Luxima.[52] Moore's narratives, so thoroughly demonizing the proselytizer and idealizing the oppressed Ghebers, leave less room for mutual enlightenment than Morgan's novel. In *The Missionary*, the missionary argues against the missionary project and the proselyte can die in the comfort of her original religion; in *Lalla Rookh*, the converter is indomitable, and it takes decades of prayer for the converted to be redeemed in the terms of her true faith.

This polarization of religious conflict links Moore's work more firmly to the conventions of romance than Morgan's. Moore's texts use a simplistic moral-political binary: oppressors are bloodthirsty, bigotted, and decadent, and the oppressed are heroic, attractively sexual, and committed to a cause rather than self-interest. Thus, in "The Fire-Worshippers," repeated comparisons are drawn between the hypocrisy of the Emir and the latent nobility of the Ghebers:

> If Iran *will* look tamely on,
> And see her priests, her warriors, driven

Before a sensual bigot's nod,
A wretch, who takes his lusts to heaven,
And makes a pander of his God!
If her proud sons, her high-born souls,
Men, in whose veins – oh last disgrace!
The blood of ZAL and RUSTAM rolls,–
If they *will* court this upstart race,
And turn from MITHRA's ancient ray,
To kneel at shrines of yesterday!
If they *will* crouch to IRAN's foes,
Why, let them – till the land's despair
Cries out to heav'n, and bondage grows
Too vile for ev'n the vile to bear!
Till shame at last, long hidden, burns
Their inmost core, and conscience turns
Each coward tear the slave lets fall
Back on his heart in drops of gall! (211–2)

To reinforce the point, a footnote tells us that Zal and Rustam are "Ancient heroes of Persia" (212*n*). I have quoted this passage at some length because it not only echoes Irish antiquarian nationalist discourse to identify the Ghebers with an ancient heroic tradition in which the colonizers cannot participate, but also because it echoes Moore's *Irish Melodies* in representing the days of heroism as past, surviving only in suppressed traces. Moreover, it suggests that colonial abjection can momentarily suppress but not eliminate an "inmost core" of morality that is necessarily nationalist. In Moore's "War Song," or "Remember the Glories of Brien the Brave," the reader is asked to "Remember the glories of BRIEN the brave, / Tho' the days of the hero are o'er" and reminded that "enough of its glory remains on each sword, / To light us to victory yet!" (*IM*, 5). In "The Harp that Once through Tara's Halls," the speaker laments, "So sleeps the pride of former days, / So glory's thrill is o'er," concluding,

Thus Freedom now so seldom wakes,
The only throb she gives,
Is when some heart indignant breaks,
To show that she still lives! (*IM*, 10)

These two poems are from only the first number of the *Irish Melodies*, but the theme of suppressed but still vital sparks of nationalist sentiment is repeated in various forms throughout the series, in lyrics such as "How Oft has the Benshee Cried," "Erin, O Erin!," "Oh! Blame Not the Bard," and "The Prince's Day." More rarely, in such poems as "Weep On, Weep On" and " 'Tis Gone, and For Ever," the speaker is utterly pessimistic but

still uses the same trope: "Oh, Freedom! once thy flame hath fled, / It never lights again!" (*IM*, 75). Moore also establishes a broad correlation between oppressed peoples by identifying Kashmirians and Ghebers. Feramorz remarks, "as a native of Cashmere, of that fair and Holy Valley, which had in the same manner become the prey of strangers, and seen her ancient shrines and native princes swept away before the march of her intolerant invaders, he felt a sympathy, he owned, with the sufferings of the persecuted Ghebers" (172). As in much of the Irish orientalist writing I discuss in this study, shared oppression is the basis for cross-national sympathy. But, to repeat Sharafuddin's question, "Why, if he wished to establish an Irish analogue, did Moore pick on Iran, and on the Ghebers in particular?"[53]

Part of the answer lies not only in political parallels and the fortuitous consonance of "Iran" and "Erin," already discussed by critics, but also in Moore's tendency to draw on a fairly compact and consistent body of imagery. The representation of amorous desire as fire is thoroughly cliché, a stock figure of sonnets and love lyrics since Petrarch, but the conflation of patriotism and erotic desire in Irish nationalist discourse (see Chapter 2) allows fire and its cognates (heat, light) to signify both forms of passion in Moore's poems. Thus, "The swift sword of Erin" is "Avenging and bright" (*IM*, 86), while the nation is represented by a newly "rising" "sun" and has a heart "Like the bright lamp" (*IM*, 47) as well as "A spirit, which beams through each suffering part" (*IM*, 74).[54] Hafed, as Sharafuddin notes, is persistently identified with fire.[55] Using the Ghebers, "the fire-worshippers," and a fiery Hafed as an "Irish analogue" allows Moore to continue to use his preferred lexicon in which patriotic and amorous desire are figured and linked through images of fire, heat, and light. In a passage awash in images of fire, light, and warm colours, for instance, Hafed enters Hinda's chamber: Hafed is described as "nor fiend nor angel he," "But one of earth's impassion'd sons, / As warm in love, as fierce in ire / As the best heart whose current runs / Full of the Day-God's living fire!" (186). Moore's interest in the Ghebers as "fire-worshippers" is also resonant with Drennan's depiction of the pre-Christian Irish as fire- and sun-worshippers in a poem published two years before *Lalla Rookh*: the early Irish sing, "O! fountain of our sacred fire, / To whom our kindred souls aspire, / (Struck from the vast chaotic dark, / As from these flints we strike the spark)" and offer a "pæan" to "rising rays, / From Elephanta's sculptur'd cave, / To Eiren, of the Western wave," marking the passage of the sun from East (India) to West (Ireland).[56] Further, Moore also uses his preferred elegaic stanza for Irish

heroes – four lines of iambic hexameter – to commemorate the deaths of Hafed and Hinda at the conclusion of "The Fire-Worshippers." Moore uses this verse form in his poems in the *Irish Melodies* on the deaths of Robert Emmet ("Oh! Breathe Not His Name") and Henry Grattan ("Shall the Harp then be Silent").

In "The Fire-Worshippers," intense amorous desire is repeatedly used to figure the intensity of patriotic desire. Thus, "as a lover hails the dawn / Of a first smile, so welcom'd he / The sparkle of the first sword drawn / For vengeance and for liberty!" (207), and "He, who gave birth to [Hinda's] dear eyes, / With [Hafed] is sacred as the spot / From which our fires of worship rise!" (192). For Hafed, erotic and patriotic flames are at odds, and therein lies his tragic dilemma. If she had "been born a Persian maid," Hafed tells Hinda, then "all those nameless ties, / In which the charm of Country lies, / Had round our hearts been hourly spun, / Till Iran's cause and thine were one . . . While the wrong'd Spirit of our Land / Liv'd, look'd, and spoke her wrongs through thee" (193). Instead, he laments,

> But now – estrang'd, divorced forever,
> Far as the grasp of Fate can sever;
> Our only ties what love has wove, –
>   Faith, friends, and country, sunder'd wide; –
> And then, then only, true to love,
>   When false to all that's dear beside! (193–4)

This, of course, is Luxima's conflict: love for Hilarion on one side, and love for her "Faith, friends, and country" on the other. Hafed chooses country, dying at the foot of the Ghebers' altar, as Moore continues to situate patriotic sentiment as a more intense and purer version of amorous desire but with the added force of religious identification. Iran thus allows Moore to link fire directly to national faith, as well as situate patriotism as a form of love and devotion that is more profound than heterosexual desire.

In Moore's larger corpus, love for nation and faith raises a man to the status of hero and national martyr, while love for woman leaves him at the earthly level of mortal flesh. Thus, in "Oh! Blame Not the Bard," Moore writes,

> Oh! blame not the bard, if he fly to the bowers,
>   Where Pleasure lies, carelessly smiling at Fame;
> He was born for much more, and in happier hours
>   His soul might have burn'd with a holier flame;

> The string, that now languishes loose o'er the lyre,
> Might have bent a proud bow to the warrior's dart,
> And the lip, which now breathes but the song of desire,
> Might have pour'd the full tide of a patriot's heart! (*IM*, 51)

Here Moore elaborates on his binary formulation of national and erotic desire through the bard who might have been a patriot: the former is domestic, sensual, and a failure of masculine potential ("He was born for much more"); the latter is martial, ennobling, and completes the male subject ("the full tide of a patriot's heart"). In the context of Moore's relentless pairing of national and heterosexual passion, the more fabular "Paradise and the Peri" and the erotic "rhapsody," "The Light of the Haram," largely ignored by recent critics, are less frothy interludes between"Veiled Prophet" and "The Fire-Worshippers" than subtle cooperations with their shared theme. In "Paradise and the Peri," a Peri can enter heaven only if she "brings to this Eternal Gate / The Gift that is most dear to Heaven!" (135). The Peri first brings a drop of a warrior's blood, shed as he "sent his last remaining dart, / For answer, to the Invader's heart" (139); while the Angel comments, "Sweet is our welcome of the Brave / Who die thus for their native Land" (140), it is insufficient. Next the Peri brings the dying breath of a woman who had caught the plague from her lover rather than leave him to die alone, "that precious sigh / Of pure, self-sacrificing love" (149). This is no more successful: the Angel remarks only that the woman's story "By seraph eyes shall long be read," and does not "welcome" her or the sigh (151). Through this part of the comparative series, Moore suggests that patriotic self-sacrifice and amorous self-sacrifice are gendered: the latter is a feminine version of the former, recalling the juxtaposition of the feminine "bowers" with the military scene invoked in "Oh! Blame Not the Bard." This gendered view is sustained throughout the other narratives: in the "Veiled Prophet," love motivates Zelica, and patriotism is Azim's primary motivation; in "The Fire-Worshippers," Hinda feels for the Ghebers only as repetitions of her beloved ("for *my* sake, weep for all" [216]), while Hafed, like Azim, feels both love and patriotism but favours the latter. And, in "The Light of the Haram," a feminine erotic space is opened for a prince in a time of peace – without the competition of nationalist sentiment, the bower of pleasure can be enjoyed without complication.

While "The Light of the Haram" most obviously recalls Moore's erotic lyrics, its eroticism is closely wedded to national feeling. From the biblical

"Song of Songs" to John Donne's Elegy 19, it is of course common to figure the body of the female beloved as a geographical space. But in this final verse narrative, a chain of similes represents the national landscape as the body of the beloved. Describing Kashmir, the poet writes,

> Its temples, and grottos, and fountains as clear
>   As the love-lighted eyes that hang over their wave. (295)
> Oh! to see it at sunset, – when warm o'er the Lake
>   Its splendour at parting a summer eve throws,
> Like a bride, full of blushes. (295)
> And the wind, full of wantonness, woos like a lover
> The young aspen-trees, till they tremble all over.
> When the East is as warm as the light of first hopes. (296)

Other images reinforce the pattern. For instance, "the Spirit of Fragrance is up with the day, / From his Haram of night-flowers stealing away" (296). Describing a "Feast of Roses," "That joyous time, when pleasures pour / Profusely round, and in their shower, / Hearts open" (297), Moore represents Kashmir as a place of unqualified beauty and unrestrained desire. And here we have not a bigotted conqueror or a proselytizing impostor, but a conqueror who set aside his ambitions for love:

> If Woman can make the worst wilderness dear,
> Think, think what a Heav'n she must make of CASHMERE!
>
> So felt the magnificent Son of ACBAR,
> When from power and pomp and the trophies of war
> He flew to that Valley, forgetting them all
> With the Light of the Haram, his young NOURMAHAL.
> When free and uncrown'd as the Conqueror rov'd
> By the banks of that Lake, with his only belov'd,
> He saw, in the wreaths she would playfully snatch
> From the hedges, a glory his crown could not match,
> And preferr'd in his heart the least ringlet that curl'd
> Down her exquisite neck to the throne of the world! (301–2)

Thus, heterosexual love is better than imperial lust and lesser than national desire, in a hierarchy of passion on which Moore's heroes and villains are located, always driven one way or the other by sentiment. It is sentiment – in the iconic form of the sentimental music praised by Brooke and later Morgan and Moore – that leads the "Conqueror" back to love. Selim and Nourmahal are reunited at the tale's end by Nourmahal's song: "'Twas not the air, 'twas not the words / But that deep magic in the chords / And in the lips, that gave such power / As

Music knew not till that hour," leaving Selim "Too inly touch'd for utterance" (231).

But the concluding verse of Nourmahal's song is a suggestive one:

> There's a bliss beyond all that the minstrel has told,
> When two, that are link'd in one heavenly tie,
> With heart never changing and brow never cold,
> Love on through all ills, and love on till they die!
> One hour of a passion so sacred is worth
> Whole ages of heartless and wandering bliss;
> And oh! if there *be* an Elysium on earth,
> It is this, it is this. (330)

Given the preceding lines' identification of the body of the beloved with the national space, "ages of heartless and wandering bliss" suggest not only erotic affairs but also the travelling of the conqueror. Sentiment, as both feeling and affect, and a different notion of the "sacred" converts the conqueror from a life of "wandering." The final narrative of *Lalla Rookh* thus recalls the second in envisioning a sinner's return to grace through penitence: the penitent has "a Soul Forgiven" (158), the "Blest tears of soul-felt penitence" (157) being the prize that will finally open the gates for the Peri, and Selim is readmitted to the sacred passion of his love for Nourmahal. The second and fourth narratives, in a sense, balance the first and third: the penitent shows the regret that the "Veiled Prophet of Khorassan" fails to imagine but which allows Zelica's redemption (121–3), and Selim's rejection of conquest for love recalls the failure of Hinda's father to moderate his persecution of the Ghebers despite Hinda's distraught response to his description of his triumph. Revelling in his triumph, Al Hassan does not notice his daughter "faintly scream" (219), and his response to her collapse – "she sinks – that look so wild – / Those livid lips – my child, my child" (220) – is to send her away from the bloodshed instead of changing his plans to annihilate the rebel force. That this final episode is located in Kashmir is especially provocative. Kashmir, as in *The Missionary*, becomes the region in which conquerors are converted from their purpose by love, as Moore draws on the region's Edenic associations to sanction that conversion through religious references, while conflating Eden with "Elysium" and so diversifying the religious framework in which Kashmir's significance is established.

And here, in Kashmir, the frame narrative comes to an end. Insofar as Lalla Rookh discovers that the poet Feramorz, with whom she has fallen in love, is actually her betrothed, the frame most obviously echoes the

love story of the final verse narrative. The critic Fadladeen offers an element of comic relief: a parody of the conservative reviewer (and notoriously recognized at the time as a lampoon of Francis Jeffrey, who savaged Moore's *Epistles, Odes, and Other Poems* in the *Edinburgh Review*), he dissects Feramorz's narratives by ridiculing the plot after reducing it to absurdity through summary, and then complains of a turn of phrase here and a figure there. He advises Feramorz, in terms that recall some of the scathing reviews of the *Quarterly*, "it is by no means my wish to discourage the young man: – so far from it, indeed, that if he will but totally alter his style of writing and thinking, I have very little doubt that I shall be vastly pleased with him" (128).[57] He is also ironically paired with Feramorz in terms of their respective effects on Lalla Rookh and her entourage. While Feramorz's stories leave the court gasping for more, melancholy or excited depending on the fortunes of the protagonists, Fadladeen is, so to speak, the proverbial "wet blanket": because of Fadladeen's criticisms, "the Ladies began to suspect that they ought not to be pleased," and Lalla Rookh hesitates to ask for another poem (129). While Lalla Rookh looks forward to each new performance, she dreads Fadladeen's responses, and "In vain did Lalla Rookh try to soften this inexorable critic" (163).

But there is another dimension to the closing frame. It is not only the end of the love story and the end of the journey to Kashmir, but the end of Fadladeen's ascendancy – and the site of his nominal conversion. In the bulk of the frame narrative, Fadladeen is the villain, and his villainy lies not only in his bigotry and general intolerance, but also in the fundamental hypocrisy on which his opinions are based:

> Fadladeen was a judge of every thing, – from the pencilling of a Circassian's eye-lids to the deepest questions of science and literature; from the mixture of a conserve of rose leaves to the composition of an epic poem: and such influence had his opinions upon the various tastes of the day, that all the cooks and poets of Delhi stood in awe of him. His political conduct and opinions were founded upon that line of Sadi, – "Should the Prince at noonday say, It is night, declare that you behold the moon and stars." – And his zeal for religion, of which Aurungzebe was a munificent protector, was about as disinterested as that of the goldsmith, who fell in love with the diamond eyes of the idol of Jaghernaut. (4–5)

Thus, Fadladeen "could never make up his mind as to the merits of a poet, till he knew the religious sect to which he belonged" (49): "Toleration, indeed, was not among the weaknesses of Fadladeen; – he carried the same spirit into matters of poetry and of religion, and, though

little versed in the beauties or sublimities of either, was a perfect master of the art of persecution in both'' (164). After Feramorz begins ''The Fire-Worshippers,'' Fadladeen's criticism turns from style and plot to politics and religion – indeed, politics and religion are intertwined in Fadladeen's most aggressive charges. The story of the Ghebers is both ''profane and seditious'' (247) to him, and he plans to play the informer and report ''the very dangerous sentiments of the minstrel'' (288) to the King of Bucharia. In the final prose section, Fadladeen again attacks Feramorz for praising ''The charms of paganism, the merits of rebellion'' (336–7). This becomes especially ironic when Feramorz is revealed to be ''the Sovereign of Bucharia'' (344):

> The consternation of FADLADEEN at this discovery was, for the moment, almost pitiable. But change of opinion is a resource too convenient in courts for this experienced courtier not to have learned to avail himself of it. His criticisms were all, of course, recanted instantly; – he was seized with an admiration of the King's verses, as unbounded as, he begged him to believe, it was disinterested. (344)

Fadladeen, then, not only suggests the hypocrisy of conservatives who hook their religious and political principles to the wagon of the dominant party, but also represents a critique of conversion as a possibility only for the hypocritical, recalling Roche's same claim in *London Tales* (see the epigraph, above). In *Lalla Rookh*, there are no real converts because, while there are deceptive villains, there can be no religious doubt or hesitation among the heroes and heroines of romance. The devoted subject cannot become a convert and the pressure to convert comes from political expediency.

AN IRISH PROTESTANT IN SEARCH OF RELIGION: WILLIAM HAMILTON DRUMMOND

After Catholic Emancipation in 1829, the discursive terrain shifted slightly as part of the century's progress on the issue of religious toleration. As Viswanathan notes, a ''liberal spirit of tolerance . . . entered English public life by the mid-nineteenth century'' and ''the new tolerance may have been the first step towards separating religious belief from social identity.''[58] In the wake of Emancipation, dogmatism and proselytization were less encouraged but religious differences were still hotly disputed and Irish writers continued to draw on India (and the ''East'' in general) to establish religious persecution as the strategy of

the tyrant rather than an expression of faith or requirement of belief. As the 1840s poet James Clarence Mangan puts it,

> *Tra*verse not the globe for lore! The sternest
> But the surest teacher is the heart.
> Studying that and that alone, thou learnest
> Best and soonest whence and what thou *art*.
>
> *Time*, not travel, 'tis which gives us ready
> Speech, experience, prudence, tact, and wit.
> Far more light the lamp that bideth steady
> Than the wandering lantern doth *emit*.
>
> *Moor*, Chinese, Egyptian, Russian, Roman,
> Tread one common downhill path of doom.
> Everywhere the names are Man and Woman,
> Everywhere the old sad sins find *room*.
>
> *Evil* angels tempt us in all places.
> What but sands or snows hath Earth to give?
> Dream not, friend, of deserts and oäses,
> But look inwards, and begin to *live*.[59]

Following sensibility's familiar privileging of heart over mind, Mangan counters imperialism's epistemological partner, the quest for scientific knowledge through exploration,[60] with a universal human condition that transcends cultural and regional difference and can be explored internally – closely recalling Hilarion's changing geocultural perspective in *The Missionary*. This continuity of argument across two generations of Irish writers is not a response to material colonial conditions as much as a matter of discursive influence. As I have indicated above, at least two *Nation* poets cited Moore's texts on religious intolerance: Thomas D'Arcy McGee uses *Corruption and Intolerance* for the epigraph to a tale about religious persecution in Ireland, and Lady Jane ("Speranza") Wilde discusses Moore's Irish allegory in *Lalla Rookh* at some length. Mangan also contributed to *The Nation* in the same period as McGee, Wilde, and Denis Florence MacCarthy (regarded by his contemporaries as Moore's Victorian heir). The inheritors of Romantic sensibility and its application to Irish nationalism, the poets of *The Nation* in the 1840s drew on the same lexicon of sensibility and the particular critique of empire that sensibility facilitates. This is not to suggest, however, a univocal Irish tradition of representation. William Hamilton Drummond's condemnation of Moore's post-Emancipation discussion of religious

difference proceeds on very different terms than that used by Morgan, Moore, and their 1840s inheritors.

When Moore returned to the subject of religious toleration after Emancipation in *Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of Religion*, he continued to argue that religion mixed with politics at the legislative level leads to the mixing of religion with politics at the social level, corrupting both. The *Travels* in general details an Irish Catholic's investigation into the history of Christianity in Europe, situating Protestantism and Catholicism within a detailed narrative of the early Christian church and its various heresies, sects, and other offshoots in order to defend the latter against the former: summing up the conclusions of the first volume on the early Christian church, Moore writes, "let, in short, the entire rabble of heretics and schismatics who, during that time, sprung up in successive array against the Church, come and club their respective quotas of error towards the work, and, I shall answer for it, such a complete body of Protestant doctrine may be therefrom compiled as might have saved the Reformers of Wittenberg and Geneva the whole trouble of their mission."[61]

Moore opens his *Travels* with a Catholic responding to the news of Emancipation in 1829 with the remark, "Thank God! I may now, if I like, turn Protestant" (I: 2). The would-be convert explains that the legislation not only frees him from religious persecution, but also "the point of honour which had till then debarred [him] from being any thing else" (I: 2). While politics keeps him allied with Catholicism, he is ignorant of the differences between Catholic and Protestant and has even imbibed anti-Catholic attitudes:

> The dark pictures I had seen so invariably drawn, in Protestant pamphlets and sermons, of the religious tenets of Popery, had sunk mortifyingly into my mind; and when I heard eminent, learned, and, in the repute of the world, estimable men representing the faith which I had had the misfortune to inherit as a system of damnable idolatry, whose doctrines had not merely the tendency, but the prepense design, to encourage imposture, perjury, assassination, and all other monstrous crimes, I was already prepared, by the opinions which I had myself formed of my brother Papists, to be but too willing a recipient of such accusations against them from others. Though, as man and as citizen, I rose indignantly against these charges, yet, as Catholic, I quailed inwardly under the fear that they were but too true. (I: 5)

With typical satiric precision, Moore situates the Irish Catholic as affected by discrimination in two senses: affected in terms of being indoctrinated into those views, and affected in terms of being emotionally aroused to resist the pressure to convert. In the second volume, this

pressure is complicated for the protagonist by the Protestant Miss ***, who baits her proselytizing hook with her hand in marriage and a local rectorship worth £2,000 per year, regularly "mixing up . . . sentiment and theology together" (II: 12, II: 209). Like the *Memoirs of Captain Rock*, to which the *Travels* is explicitly linked by the title page's attribution of both works to the same "Editor," the *Travels* presents an alternative British history in which predation and hypocrisy are at the fore – and that history is bolstered by extensive historical references that are often drawn from British sources. Thus, as does the *Memoirs*, the *Travels* answers the pressure on Irish Catholics to convert by declaring that it is the English Protestants who need to find religion:

> At the same time, too, that . . . eminent Church of England authorities bear such testimony to the irreligion of the higher classes of the country, we find in the Reports of the Home Missionaries and other such sources an equally lamentable picture of the demoralization of the lower.
>
> At the first annual meeting of the Parent Home Missionary Society, 1820, it is stated, in reference to Northumberland, Cumberland, Durham, and part of Lancashire, that "darkness covers this part of England, and gross darkness the people:" – while the County of Worcester, it is said, may, "in a moral light, be regarded as a waste, howling wilderness." In the same Report, Staffordshire is stated to contain three hundred thousand inhabitants, "the greater part of whom sit in darkness and the gloomy shades of overspreading death." Again, Oxfordshire, we are told, presents "a moral wilderness of awful dimensions," and, in a part of Berkshire, "the villages are in a state of complete mental darkness." (II: 317–18)

Moore's *Travels* thus not only offers an extensive critique of attempts to convert Catholics in Ireland, but condemns England itself as benighted.

Of the responses to Moore's charges, William Hamilton Drummond's *A Learned Indian in Search of Religion: A Discourse, Occasioned by the Death of the Rajah, Ram Mohun Roy* (1833) is particularly salient to the concerns of this chapter.[62] Drummond, an Irish minister and member of the Royal Irish Academy, and a Unitarian no doubt irritated by Moore's remarks on that belief, explicitly condemns Moore's text. In the *Travels*, Moore writes, "the imperishable deposit of the two great Christian Mysteries, the Trinity and the Real Presence . . . , she [the Catholic Church] has maintained, in their first perfect holiness, to the present hour. . . . In the very first ages of her existence, this rebellion of the Evil Principle began; and the Ebionites denied the Trinity and the Docetæ the Real Presence full as confidently as the Unitarians and the Zwinglians assail those bulwarks of her faith in modern times. It matters not to her

Unity how text-hunters and commentators . . . may succeed by torturing the Word of God by their perverse ingenuity" (II: 336–7). Drummond responds,

> The learned Indian went, like the well known "Irish Gentleman," in search of religion; but how different was the result! The one sought it in the dark and ponderous tomes of the Fathers – in the mouldy records of general councils – in monkish legends, and the *collectanea* of Priestcraft: – the other, in the page of nature and the volume of revelation. The one depended on human authority, the other on the oracles of the living God. The one followed the "faithless phantom" of tradition – the other fixed his gaze on the "sun of righteousness." The "Irish Gentleman" went, as he was led, hoodwinked, up the theological stream, where it ran dark and feculent, and never reached the fountain head.[63]

Rammohun Roy, or "the Rajah" as Drummond terms him, was a widely published author, mostly on religious matters, in British-controlled Bengal; he travelled to England in 1829 (suggestively the year of Emancipation) and died there in 1833, with numerous sermons marking his passing. (I retain Drummond's usage for the sake of consistency with the text, and for the sake of its intensification of the connection to Moore's narrative via echoing "Irish Gentleman" in the similarly classed and nationally specific "Rajah," and to distinguish Drummond's somewhat fictionalized figure from the historical Rammohun Roy who, as Leask notes, did not actually convert.)[64] I have quoted Drummond's comparison of Moore's "Irish Gentleman" with the Rajah at length (though not in full) because it highlights the ways in which India and Ireland were compared on terms related to continuing religious tensions within the British Isles. Hence, an Irish Protestant author such as Drummond praises an Indian's personal quest for faith over an Irish Catholic author's defense of Catholicism in order to condemn the latter more thoroughly.

Drummond echoes Moore's use of the motif of the spiritual journey, a motif implicit in Morgan's *The Missionary*, to make England and Unitarianism the proper terminus of such a quest. Drummond is much more traditional in his representation of this journey: his spiritual traveller does not fall in love with a prophetess or find himself briefly tempted by his love for the daughter of his sect's persecutor. The Rajah, in Drummond's representation, is, if not explicitly chaste, then chaste by default: in Drummond's account of the Rajah's quest, there are no women except as personifications of concepts. Central to Drummond's argument is a separation of culture from religion. That is, Drummond represents the Rajah as amenable to conversion and capable of a purer faith than

the "Irish Gentleman" precisely because he approaches the Bible without a culturally trained predisposition to read the text in particular ways. This approach was not standard: J. Scott Porter suggests, "Perhaps his familiarity with the writings of Mahommedan authors may have been one means of preparing his mind in some degree for the reception of the great truth; that God is one pure and spiritual being: – and may have led the way to his final rejection of . . . modern Hindooism."[65] In an extended discussion of the value of reading the Bible outside of a Christian context, Drummond posits his ideal reader:

> he should exercise his own understanding, and judge for himself, being influenced solely by a desire of ascertaining clearly what they ["the books of the Old and New Testament"] reveal. (4)
> He will consider the style of oriental composition, its magniloquence, its hyperboles, its poetry – with the history, manners, customs, laws, institutions, the peculiar modes of thought and expression of the people to whom the communication was addressed. Hence he will be guarded against the danger of giving a literal meaning to figures of speech, or of supposing that doctrines of vital importance will depend on the interpretation of an ambiguous text. (4)
> We shall further suppose our inquirer to come to the study of his Bible, in happy ignorance of the various subjects of controversy, which have so often agitated the Christian world. (5)

In Drummond's view, biblical hermeneutics requires a setting aside of contemporary contexts in favour only of the original context for the text itself – tacitly, an answer to Moore's detailed history of Christianity in Europe. The effective reader thus has only to strip away the garb of the culture of the middle east up to the time of Christ in order to arrive at the "truth." Consequently, after listing various "popish doctrines," Drummond insists, "none of those doctrines seems to have any legitimate claim to belief, resting as they do on tradition . . . but destitute of any solid foundation in the records of evangelic truth" (8). Ideology muddies the truth, suggests Drummond, whether it arises from cultural practices in biblical times or more recent church history. And careful reading reveals the truth and so allows the reader to shed ideology:

> there are numerous instances of persons coming to the study of the Bible with all their early prepossessions matured in favour of a creed called orthodox, who, notwithstanding, have been obliged to abandon it, as not only untenable by the Scriptures, but in direct contradiction to their plainest statements. They have been forced, by the irresistible power of truth, to give up, one after another, every text which they thought favourable to their cause, till not an iota was left

for its support, and the whole system has crumbled into fragments, like the enchanted castle of some wicked wizard of romance, at the sound of a true knight's horn, and vanished away, leaving "not a wreck behind." (9–10)

Religious conversion, Drummond suggests, thus requires the dislocation of the subject from his (or her) own cultural context and sociopolitical affiliations. The Rajah is offered as the proof of Drummond's abstract suppositions. The narrative of his conversion is predicated on the Rajah's training in culturally non-specific disciplines as well as his growing dissatisfaction with the religion in which he was raised.

Drummond takes Enlightenment thought in a different direction from Moore and Morgan: rationality and truth take priority over sympathy with the community, and hence the community's cultural traditions, in which one is raised. The subject of conversion is made ready for scripture via reason alone. Thus, "The justice of the preceding reflections . . . is proved and illustrated by [the Rajah's] history" (10): "The Rajah was a Christian of such *intrinsic* worth, he was so distinguished by his talents, his learning, his virtues – by the unprecedented example of an Indian Brahmin becoming a *genuine* Christian, – that he was an object of *universal* interest" (10; my emphases). Drummond stresses, "his early studies were an admirable preparative for the part, he was afterwards to take in religious controversy. His logic and mathematics taught him to reason well, to draw right conclusions from their premises, and detect the sophistry of his opponents; while by his knowledge both of ancient and modern languages, he was eminently qualified to discharge the office of a Biblical critic" (11). Drummond's ideal convert sheds ideology to read the scriptures effectively via a universalized rationality and so comes to inhabit a non-ideological space of "truth."

But, in praising the Rajah, Drummond necessarily recognizes the cultural alienation of which Morgan warns; conversion puts the Rajah at odds with his family and his country, and leads him to England. In *The Missionary*, Luxima's separation from her community is tragically represented, particularly in her lament for her "Brahminical rosary,"

I have nothing left now *but these!* nothing to remind me, in the land of strangers, of my country and my people, save only these: it makes a part of the religion I have abandoned, to respect the sacred ties of nature; does my new faith command me to break them? This rosary was fastened on my arm by a parent's tender hand, and bathed in Nature's holiest dew – a parent's tender tears; hold not the Christians relics, such as these, precious and sacred? (193–4)

The Rajah, however, only retains the signs of caste, according to Drummond, in order to facilitate his conversions of other Indians, and his apparent loss of social and familial connections is presented as heroic:

> that such a man should strip off the prejudices of education, should renounce the popular superstitions of his country, under the severe penalty of incurring the hostility of his relatives and friends, and at the no small risk of losing his paternal property, and most dreadful of all, of losing *caste* – which, as you well know, is to the Hindoo, a grievance more terrible than excommunication in the Roman Catholic Church – that such a man, under such circumstances, should come forward to avow his belief in Christianity at all, ought surely to be a subject of rejoicing to every one who feels a real interest in the extension of the Saviour's kingdom. (17)

Like the pathetic converts of Morgan's Irish fiction, the Rajah's central significance is as a vindication of the Protestant cause. The social price he has had to pay only heightens that significance. While writers such as Morgan and Moore, drawing on sensibility, emphasize the tragic loss of social affiliations, Drummond draws on Enlightenment rationality to reduce that loss to a feature of the Rajah's exemplarity.

Indeed, Drummond quietly insists on the Rajah's exemplarity. In his *Discourse*, Drummond reserves the use of the word "example" for three figures: God, Christ, and the Rajah. The Rajah is "the unprecedented example" (10), "this example" (21), and a "great and good example" (24), while "God [is] our great example" (7) and Christ's moral perfection has "no second example" (7). Drummond's diction reinforces the argument that the Rajah is the third in a holy trinity of exemplars for the Christian. For instance, in the context of defending the Rajah's retention of caste, Drummond offers "a greater example . . . in our Saviour who, though his religion was to supersede Judaism, continued as a Jew, to 'fulfil all righteousness' " (15). Alike forces of conversion, God, Christ, and the Rajah are morally and logically pure and show the path to revelation. The *Discourse* ends, "May his great and good example be followed by thousands and millions of his countrymen – and may we lend our strenuous efforts to promote a cause, which has for its objects the glory of God, the honour of Christ, and the felicity of man" (24). The Rajah is inserted into the role that Hilarion envisioned for Luxima: the noble figure of virtue whose conversion will attract further converts from the masses in India. Drummond's rhetoric of exemplarity is predicated on a model of education in which the rational subject recognizes the

contours of the true example. As a consequence, Moore's Catholic traveller must fail: "The one followed the 'faithless phantom' of tradition – the other fixed his gaze on the 'sun of righteousness.' The 'Irish Gentleman' went, as he was led, hoodwinked, up the theological stream, where it ran dark and feculent, and never reached the fountain head" (19). "Followed," "led," and "hoodwinked," the "Irish Gentleman," like Keats' Madeline, is lost in the "dream of error" from which the Indian Rajah escapes via pure logic and a fortuitous ignorance of Catholic theology and church history. Thus the Indian Brahmin, by his very distance from the metropole, becomes the ideal convert and example to his countrymen, while (Irish) Catholics remain inevitably lost in the darkness of their own church history.

While Moore openly challenges the politicization of religion in his writings on religious intolerance and Morgan often takes a more satiric stance on the ethical merits of religious institutions, both writers take the convert as a figure through which to explore not only the implications of proselytization as colonial policy but also the sentimental interweaving of, as well as distinctions between, religion and politics. Grounding both religion and politics in communal affections and sympathy, Moore and Morgan render faith and honest political action consequences of sensibility and hence necessarily moral. Drummond's praise for the converted Rajah, against this cultural ground, must therefore proceed on the basis of reason, not feeling. The convert's separation from community appears almost indisputable. What separates Drummond's Rajah (that is, as Drummond represents him for the purpose of his larger argument) from Catholicism is precisely his ability to set aside communal feeling if his reason so dictates. The immorality of proselytization in Moore's and Morgan's texts lies in its use as an instrument of "worldly policy" and, particularly in the case of Morgan's texts, its effect of dividing individuals from the communities to which they are sentimentally attached.

PART II

Colonial Gothic and the Circulation of Wealth

CHAPTER 4

On the Frontier: Sensibility and Colonial Wealth in Edgeworth and Lewis

LXVI
And all this wealth by Hastings stor'd,
Been swift to Britain's coffers pour'd;
Nor left one Jagier to sustain,
My lonely life's afflicted wane.

LXVII
And still full oft with fell controul,
Distracting terrors rack my soul,
Lest, transient as a meteor's blaze,
Shou'd shine the splendor of my days.

Elizabeth Ryves, Canto I of *The Hastiniad* (1785)

While political relations could be framed in literature on sentimental terms, whether as "benevolence" that stabilizes colonial hierarchical relationships or through national or religious feeling that unites the people against the colonial oppressor (see Chapters 2 and 3), the driving force in colonial practice was arguably economic. Absentee landlords might have been lacking a properly benevolent interest in the welfare of their tenants, but they also retained their Irish property because it was worth money to them. Ireland offered cheap labour, natural resources, a tax base, and, as long as it was peaceful, allowed for greater military security along Britain's western coast, including important ports such as Bristol. Indeed, United-man poet Drennan went so far as to argue, and at some length, that the key motive for the Act of Union (1800) was "to make an arsenal here, a post there, and an advanced redoubt of" Ireland as part of British military strategy against post-Revolutionary France.[1] However, open discussions of the profitability of the British colonial project in Ireland in the early nineteenth century are relatively few and far between. The economic dimension of Ireland's colonial status was more widely addressed in discussions of the mid-century famines and debates over official responses to them, although the subject was

occasionally addressed via the Irish tithe system. Rammohun Roy was among the authors on this subject, and one anonymous writer bluntly criticizes the Irish tithe system for requiring Catholics to be "taxed for the support of a Protestant Church."[2]

Because of the impeachment trial of Warren Hastings (1788–1795), however, the economics of the colonial project in India were much more familiar to readers in the British Isles. Irish writers, moreover, were prominent in condemnations of Hastings. Burke led the impeachment proceedings, for instance, and Ryves published a satire, *The Hastiniad* (1785), which mocked Pitt's government, Hastings, and Hastings' wife for their "imperialist greed and corruption."[3] But the impeachment debate nonetheless hammered the public sphere with reminders of the proverbial riches of the East. The timing of Hastings' impeachment, coinciding with British radicals' calls for the easing of poverty through the lowering of taxes, the establishment of some kind of pension for the aged, and even the redistribution of wealth, led to the increasing identification of India as the means by which Britain's socioeconomic problems could be solved: not that the British government should use imperial wealth to redress economic imbalances at home, but that impoverished, hardworking Britons could go to India to achieve the standard of living that they desired and, while they were there, build the empire.

By the early 1800s, writers were responding to this supposed solution. In "Lame Jervas" and the *Essay on Irish Bulls*, the Edgeworths represent India's wealth as a kind of *deus ex machina*: it provides the means by which worthy boys from the lower echelons may achieve the socioeconomic position that they merit without disrupting the distribution of wealth within the British Isles. But such rosy support of this mechanism for releasing social pressure is complicated by a selection of protagonists who are orphaned and unattached to home; they have, in short, nothing to lose and everything to gain. Benevolence, as we saw in Chapter 2, is the vehicle through which they learn to merit such upward mobility, but that benevolence also secures them on the margins by directing their emotional attachments to one socially superior mentor rather than (in Drennan's words) "the extended family feeling, which ought to bind the different ranks of society into one."[4] Irish author Elizabeth Lefanu considers more rooted would-be emigrants in her novel, *The India Voyage* (1804). Julia, of high birth but insufficient money to be sure of attracting a suitable mate, must travel to India to get a husband; her departure, however, is delayed long enough for her to find one in England. Similarly, her friend, Emma, marries Berkley, who

"was in the civil establishment in India" but is saved from returning to India by Emma's restoration to her stolen inheritance.[5] When asked, "Will you give up your chance of Eastern splendour, for competence at home?" Berkley replies, "India might be hurtful to Mrs Sedley [Emma's mother], and in England we may all be happy."[6] At the end of the novel, Emma praises those "fortunate events, which have conducted us to happiness, and stopped what was equally painful to Julia and myself, the being obliged to go an *India Voyage*."[7] In "The Anaconda," British author Matthew G. Lewis offers a gothic extension of Lefanu's sentimental hesitation: the region (in this instance, modern Sri Lanka) is indeed "hurtful" to Britons. It is the interweaving of economic reward, imperial utility, and emotional price that is my concern in this chapter's exploration of the literary triangulation of Ireland, India, and Britain.

EDGEWORTH'S ADMINISTRATORS IN INDIA

In *Ennui*, "Lame Jervas," and the tale of Dominick embedded in the *Essay on Irish Bulls* by the Edgeworths, Celtic and other colonial subjects are trained in British culture and, after a brief trial in exile, allowed to re-enter the fold at a higher social standing. As already discussed, these Irish and Cornish protagonists mediate between what Bhabha terms the "non-white" and what the Edgeworths, via Voltaire, term "the whites" (see 54, above) – and so earn their place on the margins of whiteness, and all that then implied, including a carefully contained social role. Through English fostering, the Edgeworths' fictional colonial abjects – Dominick, Jervas, Prince Abdul Calie, Glenthorn – learn to provide "good offices" (*Theory*, 345), as defined within the Edgeworths' utilitarian and somewhat anglocentric views. This imperialist enterprise is complicated, however, by Maria Edgeworth's valorization of indigenous aristocracies – a complication also present in Burke's writings on India and France.[8] In both *Ennui* and "Lame Jervas," the "native" rulers – Glenthorn and Prince Abdul Calie, respectively – are given control over their hereditary dominions, but only because they have internalized British standards. However, both tales offer, as the ideal resolution of the colonial situation, the restoration of land to a reformed indigenous aristocracy. Edgeworth's narrative thus duplicates the infantilization of the colonized with which postcolonial studies has made us familiar, but nearly collapses the timeframe necessary to raise colonial "children" to independence and maturity. A few years of paternal care, Edgeworth suggests, is all that is necessary, as long as that care is directed towards

encouraging hard work and discouraging indulgence on terms compatible with the interests of British trade and government. The rough and tumble of the frontier, the incivility of the colonial space, make India and Ireland the ideal site for such transformational labour – and, provocatively, allows the colonized to outpace the colonizers in fulfilling the emergent British ideal of the muscular empire, a point pivotal to Stoker's fiction after *Dracula*, as I shall argue in Chapter 6.

In *Ennui*, Ireland becomes the complex site of such renovation as an English-raised aristocrat of the lethargic sort becomes a hard-working lawyer and estate-owner in Ireland. As the novel begins, the protagonist is disabled by ennui, caused by the surfeit of English aristocratic life, but he is reenergized by his travels in Ireland:

> I never remember to have experienced, on any journey, less ennui. I was out of patience twenty times a day, but I certainly felt no ennui; and I am convinced that the benefit some patients receive from a journey is in an inverse proportion to the ease and luxury of their mode of travelling. When they are compelled to exert their faculties, and to use their limbs, they forget their nerves, as I did. (*Ennui*, 175–6)

Glenthorn is then reformed by two figures: one, a representative of Adam Smith's economics, M'Leod, who teaches Glenthorn how to act in the best interests of those dependent on him; the other, a benevolent educator, who oversees the rest of Glenthorn's education. The first leads to the second: Glenthorn, as a student of M'Leod's, helps Cecil Devereux and his bride, Lady Geraldine; they, in turn, sing his praises to Lord Y—; and Lord Y— decides to help Glenthorn, citing their recommendation as he explains to Glenthorn that he will assist him (*Ennui*, 296). Lord Y—'s pedagogical role is clearly established through an almost flat-footed reference to the Socratic dialogues of Plato: "You know I have undertaken to be your guide, philosopher, and friend; so you must let me have my own way: and if it should so happen, hear yourself abused patiently – Is this not a fine bust of Socrates?" (*Ennui*, 298–9).

And Lord Y—'s message is just as clear. Dangling Cecilia Delamere before Glenthorn as incentive, just as Drennan dangled Irishwomen before the "sons of Erin" (60, above), Lord Y— declares,

> Time and industry are necessary to prepare you for the profession, to which you will hererafter [*sic*] be an honour, and you will courageously submit.
>
> – Time and industry, the mighty two,
> Which bring our wishes nearer to our view.

As to the probability that your present wishes may be crowned with success, I can judge only from my general knowledge of the views and disposition of the lady whom you admire. I know that her views with respect to fortune are moderate; and that her disposition and excellent understanding will, in the choice of husband, direct her preference to the essential good qualities, and not to the accidental advantages, of the candidates for her favour. . . . You perceive, then, how much depends on your own exertions; and this is the best hope, and the best motive, that I can give to a strong and generous mind. Farewell – Persevere, and prosper. (*Ennui*, 304)

Glenthorn is transformed:

Such was the general purport of what Lord Y — said to me; indeed, I believe that I have repeated his very words, for they made a great and ineffaceable impression upon my mind. From this day I date the commencement of my new existence. Fired with ambition, – I hope generous ambition, – to distinguish myself among men, and to win the favour of the most amiable and most lovely of women, all the faculties of my soul were awakened: I became active, permanently active. The enchantment of indolence was dissolved, and the demon of ennui was cast out for ever. (*Ennui*, 305)

As in "Lame Jervas," benevolent instruction is directly effective ("every word he said sunk into my mind" ["Jervas," 16]), and transforms the student ("His goodness wakened and warmed me to a sense of gratitude – the first virtuous emotion I was conscious of ever having felt" ["Jervas," 6]). Glenthorn's incentive is not wealth and loyalty, but heteronormative desire – a desire that leads him nevertheless to economic independence and the assumption of his wife's Norman name, Delamere (*Ennui*, 320). As with Moore's and Morgan's heroes, the proper sentiment lies beneath an artificial and counter-productive veneer, and passion can rekindle it – except that here the proper sentiment is not patriotism but a sense of duty.

The national complications of the novel come to an end: the descendant of Irish kings takes a Norman name and an English education, following Lord Y —, "an Irish nobleman" (*Ennui*, 294), into universalized and de-nationalized merit. National distinctions emerge in this text not to argue for the determinism of birth but to distinguish the universal merit that embraces the members of various nations from the national weaknesses that derive from specific national cultures. Thus, *ennui* is identified with the French corruption of English culture:

Whilst yet a boy, I began to feel the dreadful symptoms of that mental malady which baffles the skill of medicine, and for which wealth can purchase only

temporary alleviation. For this complaint there is no precise English name; but, alas! the foreign term is now naturalized in England. Among the higher classes, whether in the wealthy or the fashionable world, who is unacquainted with *ennui*? (*Ennui*, 144)

Conversely, Lord Y— "was not what the French call *manièré*; his politeness was not of any particular school, but founded on the general principles of good taste, good sense, and good nature, which must succeed in all times, places, and seasons. His desire to please evidently arose not from vanity but benevolence" (*Ennui*, 295). There is, of course, an anti-French strain here, but it is not deployed to sanction Englishness, as was common at the time. It rather serves to mark the fluidity of national culture: the Anglo-Irish heir can be ineffectual as a landholder, the English can become French, and the Irish heir can take an Anglo-Norman name. This fluidity is mirrored by the many names of the narrator: Glenthorn (the colonial name taken by the O'Shaughnessys [*Ennui*, 160]), Christy O'Donoghue, and finally, by implication, a Delamere. At the end of the narrative, the narrator's new full name is alluded to, but is never given – he ends the narrative effectively nameless, a denationalized figure for a nominally universal merit that can be achieved by a very British education.

Although later writers would exploit the depopulation of Ireland by the famines of mid-century to encourage colonial settlement of its newly empty spaces,[9] Edgeworth's use of Ireland in the early years of the century as the land of opportunity for the hardworking Glenthorn is somewhat idiosyncratic. In her last novel with an Irish setting, Morgan mocks such a view of Ireland and the implication that merit is recognized there:

"But you, Madam," said the courteous General, approaching the table, and throwing his eyes over a beautiful illumination she was painting on the leaf of a missal, "you at least could fear no failure; such talents must command success every where, as well as deserve it;" and he added, with the air of one who announced a discovery, "talent, like knowledge, is power."

"Talent is only available when seconded by the *prestige* of fashion," replied the Superior, coldly; "knowledge may be power, in nations, but wealth is the power of individuals."[10]

Later, sarcastically recalling the General's claim that talent succeeds "every where," Morgan's heroine warns the hero:

Here, indeed, as everywhere, mediocrity is safe; dulness is its own protection, and insensibility its own shield: but genius and feeling, the pride, the hope, the

ambition of patriotism, the bitter indignation which spurns at oppression, the generous sympathy which ranges itself on the side of the oppressed, – if there are lands where such virtues thrive and flourish, and force forward the cause of human happiness, Ireland is not one of them.[11]

Morgan's view of meritocracy is not, of course, that of Edgeworth. In Edgeworth's formulation, hard work, practically directed, leads to wealth and status – especially in colonial spaces. India, the proverbial land of wealth for centuries of English literature, is particularly useful in this regard.

Lame Jervas and Dominick, the subject of the tale embedded in the Edgeworths' *Essay on Irish Bulls*, both go to India in subordinate administrative positions, and return independently wealthy. Dominick, we are told,

went over to India as private secretary to one of our commanders in chief. How he got into this situation, or by what gradations he rose in the world, we are not exactly informed: we know only that he was the reputed author of a much-admired pamphlet on Indian affairs; that the despatches of the general to whom he was secretary were remarkably well written, and that Dominick O'Reilly, Esq. returned to England, after several years' absence, not miraculously rich, but with a fortune equal to his wishes. (*Essay*, 109)

Jervas, similarly, is "appointed to go out to Madras as an assistant to Dr. Bell, one of the directors of the asylum for the instruction of orphans; an establishment which is immediately under the auspices of the East India Company, and which does them honour" (29), and declares at the story's end, "I was now rich beyond my hopes," in part because he sold a ring that the prince had given him "for more even than [he] expected" (53). So, he announces, "Here I am, thank Heaven! once more in free and happy England, with a good fortune, clean hands, and a pure conscience" (54). In both tales, poor children work hard at a particular category of knowledge, use that knowledge in India, and return to their homes much richer and, in terms of class, elevated. Glenthorn repeats this lesson domestically: working hard in semi-modernized Ireland and then completing his education in England, he finally returns to Ireland in a position to raise himself socially and financially. In all of these narratives, British knowledge – science, law, and language – are the means by which dutiful subordinates can be rewarded, and colonial spaces provide the wealth with which to reward them.

TRACING COLONIAL LUCRE IN "THE ANACONDA": NABOBS, AGENTS, AND TRADERS

In "The Anaconda: An East Indian Tale," from his *Romantic Tales* (1808), Matthew G. Lewis offers a provocative contribution to the representation of India as a source of wealth in British colonial contexts.[12] The tale is set in Ceylon, modern-day Sri Lanka, an island annexed by the East India Company in 1796. While most eighteenth-century representations of India follow the orientalist fable in using India only as an exotic site for mundane moral lessons – as in an early Irish oriental tale, Frances Sheridan's *History of Nourjahad* (1767) – the impeachment proceedings against Hastings contributed to the development of a new form of orientalist literature in which more pragmatic questions were raised about empire. Oriental tales of the earlier type continued, on more romantic terms, of course, but Lewis's tale falls clearly within the post-1785 category, a group of texts that deal with the management of oriental populations, the economic implications of colonial practices, and the cross-cultural tensions that mark occidental-oriental contact. Exposing the underbelly of the imperial project, the proceedings against the former Governor-General of the East India Company made the terms of colonial domination uncomfortably explicit. Thus, in the wake of Hastings' indictment, and the related movement of the 1780s and 1790s to abolish the slave trade, we can trace the emergence of a body of literature concerned with colonial relations and their consequences – both economic and moral. From Anna Lætitia Barbauld's "Epistle to William Wilberforce" and Samuel Taylor Coleridge's "Fears in Solitude" to Eliza Fenwick's *Secresy* and Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park*, British writers confronted the effects of imperial domination on the moral and cultural strength of Britain itself. Lewis's play, *Rivers: Or the East Indian* (1800), was somewhat behind the trend; in Lewis's drama, India only functions as the proverbial source of great wealth. In "The Anaconda," however, oriental wealth is not so easily won: recalcitrant natives, a hostile environment, and dangerous wildlife combine to make the orient a site of colonial trauma as well as a source of colonial lucre.

Much recent gothic criticism has dealt with the relationship of the gothic to capitalist modernity, most notably Jerrold Hogle's recent essays on the priority of the counterfeit in early gothic and its transmutation into Baudrillardian simulation in late Victorian gothic.[13] While Hogle persuasively argues that, in the gothic, "hollowed-out signs of more antiquated Western power-centers (ghosts of counterfeits)" function

"as ways to market or 'sell' the acquisitive and uncertainly grounded self in an increasingly capitalist world verging on the full arrival of mechanical reproduction,"[14] he does not address the sub-genres of the colonial gothic and the imperial gothic. Brantlinger uses the term "imperial gothic" to refer to a body of British fiction about distant spaces in relation to conquest; I use "colonial gothic" here to refer to gothic literature written from and about the colonial space (whatever the author's position within that space).[15] Unable to access the proprietorial simplicities which underpin English domestic gothic's concerns with proper lines of inheritance, Anglo-Irish gothic – and perhaps colonial gothic in general – is haunted by the violence which marks the origin of imperial property. Thus, as we shall see in the next chapter, Maturin's Melmoth gives each heir to an Irish estate not a tale of family origins and the family's relationship to the land, but a series of narratives about various avatars of institutional violence that threaten individual autonomy, including mercantile predation, the illicit seizure of property, and state interference in the familial transmission of property.

The driving force in the framing narrative of Lewis's "The Anaconda" is similarly tied to property and self-possession. Everard has returned to England and is engaged to Jessy, but Jessy's aunt raises concerns about the legitimacy of Everard's new wealth. He must therefore tell his tale as evidence of its legitimacy. The tale is straightforward. Everard goes to Ceylon and finds work as the secretary to Seafield, an English owner of a plantation; Seafield has a wife, Louisa, but the couple have no children. The Seafields are very much in love, and their plantation is almost Edenic; one of their servants even poses an "exception to [Seafield's] general opinion, that in all their transactions with Europeans, the natives of this island were totally devoid of gratitude, honesty, and good faith."[16] Such qualified colonial bliss is quickly exploded when the anaconda attacks. It traps Seafield for days, he dies soon after his rescue, and Louisa soon dies sentimentally of grief. Everard manages to kill the snake, but too late. He inherits the Seafields' plantation, sells it, and returns to England. Everard, however, refuses to tell anyone what has happened. So Jessy's aunt, Milman, like any gossip in a comedy of manners, "went round about, and round about, and wormed, and wormed, and kept beating the bush, till [she] got it all out of" Everard's Ceylonese servant, Mirza (10). There are suggestions that Mirza's account is faithful; Milman tells her brother, Elmwood, that Mirza enjoined her to silence and indicated that "it would give [Everard] pain to hear it mentioned" (10), and many of the details are correct. For instance, Everard kills by

shooting first, and then "beat[ing] her brains out with a club" (11). But Milman mistakenly thinks that Everard has killed a woman, not a snake. Her embellishments, predicated on this assumption, are implicitly marked. Reciting what she claims to have heard from Mirza, she says that, before the murder, Everard "passed whole days and nights in watching her" (12). This is a reasonable thing to do when hunting, but not when courting, so Milman adds, "and ogling her" (12).

In Milman's gothic redaction of Mirza's heroic narrative, Everard courted a woman, persuaded her to "poison poor Mr. O'Connor . . . Her father, or her husband, for . . . I am not certain which" (12), and then convinced her "to dispose of all her property; and when it was converted into money, and jewels, and such like, he enticed her into a wood, where he robbed and murdered her" (13). Elmwood refuses to believe that Everard could behave in such a manner, but finally capitulates when "the Joneses, and the Williamsons, and all the family of the Burnabys" (14) and even "Cousin Dickins" credit Milman's version of events. Everard returns as the Joneses, Williamsons, Burnabys, Elmwood, Milman, and Dickins are trying to persuade his fiancée, Jessy, of his criminal behaviour. Mirza is called to give his version of events, and, in the first direct representation of his speech, complains that Milman has failed to remain silent as she promised: "You no say dat! Massa tell me no talk" (22). Finally, the point of confusion is made clear:

"You know, Mirza, it was all about how your master made his fortune; well, and so, Mirza . . . and so you say, Mirza, and so you say, my dear, that your master killed her in a wood: what? did he kill her *quite*?" –
– "Iss, quite! she quite dead! Massa beat brains out wid great club!" –
– "*I*, Mirza?" exclaimed Everard; "Did *I*?" –
– "Iss, dad you did, Massa! And God him bless you for it!" –
– "Bless him for it!" whispered Mrs. Milman to Cousin Dickins; "there's fine morality! the wicked little Heathen! but you'll hear more presently!" then turning again to the boy; "well but, Mirza, you told me something too about *poisoning* – what, I suppose, before your master killed Miss Anne O'Connor . . . . . ." –
– "Conda! Conda!" interrupted the boy.
– "Condor, was it?" repeated Mrs. Milman: – "well, well, Connor or Condor, the name makes no great difference. Well, Mirza, and so you say, that this Anne O'Condor, instigated by your master, I suppose . . . "(23–4)

The name, of course, makes all the difference – Everard realizes that they are discussing his killing of the anaconda, turns pale, and, too agitated to remain, flees the room. Soon, he returns, and addresses Milman: "I am

now master of this whole business. Your ignorance of circumstances peculiar to the East, the singularity of my adventures, and the broken English in which you heard them related, have led you into a most extraordinary mistake" (25). "The Narrative of Everard Brooke" then begins, ending on the penultimate page of the narrative.

While the thrust of the rhetoric is moral and sympathetic – "poor Mr. O'Connor" (12) and "poor Miss Nancy O'Connor" (14) – financial terms recur. The mystery of how Everard "made his fortune" (23) is echoed through references to "this whole business" (25), Milman getting "possession of this bloody story" (8), Milman making "recompense . . .for [her] attempt to blast his character" (8), and finally to Jessy's kiss serving as a "reward" (114). Social relations here are governed by financial discourse, just as Everard's marriage depends on his authentication of his wealth: "As to his fortune, I make no doubt, that Everard can give as satisfactory an account of his making it, as the honestest man within the bills of mortality" (5). Narratives of accumulation must underwrite and legitimate acquisition in the wake of Hastings' impeachment and other East India Company scandals as well as less recent financial scandals, such as the South Sea Bubble.[17] Narrative itself becomes an object of accumulation in a tale in which the circulation of wealth, social position, and authenticating records are closely tied. Milman can thus claim she "got possession of [Everard's] bloody story" and then, to circulate her narrative coin, "drove round the village to communicate it to all [her] friends and relations" (7–8). The tension here is not between landed aristocracy and new commercial wealth, but between the familiar and visible economic relations of the "old merchant" and the new and invisible economic relations of the colonial agent. Everard does not trade with the orient, but works as a secretary to a landholder in a colonial space, and the distinction is crucial to his position as hero.

Amal Chatterjee has traced the falling fortunes of traders in the British imagining of colonial activity. Although Chatterjee does not mention the notorious impeachment proceedings against Hastings in his chapter on "Traders," he argues, based on a wide range of contemporary texts, that "It is clear that by . . . the late eighteenth century, the perception that much of the wealth was ill-gotten was widely accepted."[18] Edgeworth's Jervas must therefore declare, when he returns wealthy from India, that he has "clean hands, and a pure conscience" ("Jervas," 54). Extending Burke's moral critique of Hasting's behaviour as head of the East India Company, such writers as Mariana Starke condemned economic

exploitation and sought a more "moral" colonial dispensation. In *The Widow of Malabar* (1791), Starke condemns Hinduism, which is metonymically (and strategically) collapsed with the practice of *sati*, and favours a Christian mission for which the Victorians would soon become notorious: the hero, Raymond, declares, "learn that Christians conquer / To save and humanize Mankind," while the Indian heroine asks, "If such its doctrines, / Who wou'd not be a Christian?"[19] As Chatterjee suggests, the play's emphasis on proselytization is part of a "veiled denunciation of the 'unChristian' toleration policy of the East India Company."[20] In T. W. Fitzgerald's Prologue to Starke's play, propagating Christianity is specifically represented as an expiation for the sin of imperial economic exploitation:

> Would Europe's sons, who visit Asia's shore,
> Where plunder'd Millions can afford no more,
> To nobler ends direct their future aim,
> And wipe from India's annals Europe's shame;
> Let them, with Reason's power subdue the breast,
> Inform the Erring, and relieve th'Opprest;
> These are pursuits more worthy of their care
> Than Realms obtain'd by all-devouring war.[21]

In *Secresy; Or, The Ruin on the Rock* (1795), published in the year that impeachment proceedings against Hastings ended, Eliza Fenwick offers a similar critique, but one indebted to notions of political justice rather than religious superiority: "Sir Thomas Barlowe has risen from some very obscure station to the wealth and dignity of a nabob. He has risen too, I greatly fear, by the same depredating practices which the unfortunate natives of India seem destined constantly to suffer from those who perfidiously call themselves the protectors of the country."[22]

But this concern was not entirely directed towards India. There was also considerable concern about those returning from India, and their impact on English society. Returning nabobs were a kind of *nouveau riche* and, in the early days of industrialization, did not yet have a place in the existing rigid and highly conservative socioeconomic order.[23] There were also a wide variety of texts which suggested that the colonial space was dangerously feminizing, corrupting the moral fibre of English citizens – Barbauld's "Epistle to William Wilberforce," for example. But there were other implications for the metropole. In the wake of sensibility, and especially the medicalization of sensibility in which balance and harmony were the hallmarks of health,[24] the impact on

English colonial agents of their part in producing suffering could be imagined as pathology. Thus, in Fenwick's *Secresy*, the nabob has not only risen in socioeconomic station, but is also wracked by a "perturbed conscience" that produces extreme and debilitating emotions:

> Sir Thomas Barlowe's riches have become his punishment. Each morning, his fears awaken with his faculties, lest that day should bring tidings of the dreaded scrutiny; and, when evening arrives, and he struggles to yield himself to mirth and wine amidst the circle he has assiduously gathered round him, a word, a look, or the most remote hint or allusion gives his watchful terrors an alarm. A sudden turn of his head, perchance, discovers his shadow on the wall. Legions of threatening phantoms then crowd upon his apprehension; and the evening, yet more miserable than the day, concludes with an opiate, administered to lull the feeble body into lethargy, and hush the perturbed conscience into silence.[25]

Barlowe's "Legions of threatening phantoms then crowd upon his apprehension" suggestively recall De Quincey's nightmare visions of the "enormous population of Asia" mixing with the fauna and mythological figures of the "East" and subsuming him,[26] but Fenwick explicitly links terror with colonial guilt or, more precisely, "his fears . . . of the dreaded scrutiny," implicitly akin to the scrutiny to which Hastings was subjected by the British Parliament. Colonial action makes Barlowe rich, but dependent on "an opiate" to soothe his shattering nervous condition – his possessions have come at the price of his own self-possession.

In "The Anaconda," Lewis offers, instead of a traumatized nabob, a traumatized colonial administrator. Unsullied by East India Company trade, he, like Jervas, returns with "clean hands, and a pure conscience." But nevertheless, on returning to England, the colonial experience becomes that which cannot be discussed, a narrative so terrible it cannot be narrated, and hence its impact widens, as the extended family of Everard's fiancée is drawn into the web of anxiety. In Freudian theory, trauma is marked by the repetition of the traumatic moment in the subject's dreams.[27] In Lewis's tale, however, trauma is marked by repetition of a different sort. The sorts of terrors to which Barlowe is subjected are reduplicated in one person after another, creating a series of traumatized subjects – a traumatized nation, haunted by the terrors which shadow colonial wealth. The track along which this trauma circulates is the same as that used by colonial wealth, and the vehicle by which this trauma circulates is the same which defines English civility: sensibility.

"GOING NATIVE": ENGLISH SENSIBILITY AND COLONIAL DISCOURSE

While Said's ground-breaking study, *Orientalism*, has encouraged us to see orientalism as a discourse which feminizes the east, aligning it with emotion, weakness, passivity, and so forth, the discourse of sensibility complicates this binary formulation. Sensibility grates against the simple devaluation of feeling as feminine by wedding emotion to reason and moral value. Sensibility privileges feeling as the tie which binds society together; susceptibility to emotion registers virtue, a "feeling heart," rather than effeminacy or irrationality. The "man of feeling," to invoke the title of Henry Mackenzie's influential novel, is an ideal civil subject rather than an emasculated hero.[28] In the binary logic of orientalism, then, the orient of sensibility must be represented not as over-emotional, but as insensible: unable to cohere as a community or adhere to the English colonial settlers, it becomes monstrous in its lack of feeling. Moreover, by the same oppositional logic, its lack of feeling generates an excess of feeling in the English, driving east and west further and further apart. Separated from the sympathetic national community and socioeconomically tied to a colonial people and region represented as unsympathetic, the national subject is doubly vulnerable. If place forms character, as Hilarion assumes in the opening pages of *The Missionary*, the character out of place is destabilized, and not in the liberating terms of Edgeworth's denationalizing education. Thus, in "The Anaconda," Everard, before going to Ceylon, was "ever so gentle, so grateful, so kind" (3), and the conviction that he behaved improperly there is predicated on assumptions about the effects of his time in the orient, "among tigers and alligators that swallow up poor dear little children at a mouthful" (4). In short, it is feared that he has "gone native," but on terms that are specifically linked to the construction of "English" sensibility – terms in which sensibility itself can result in a vulnerability that compromises colonial power. The familiar construction of colonialism as "civilizing" – in Starke's phrase, "Christians conquer / To save and humanize Mankind" – is reversed to suggest colonial effects on the would-be civilizers.

Lewis examines the implications of "going native" by situating his hero between two competing forces, a set of ("English") social relations defined by sympathy and morality, and a set of ("oriental") colonial relations defined by suspicion and self-interest. The former is visibly expressed through the sensible body: fainting, a "faltering voice" (24), facial expressions and other bodily signs convey "agony of soul" (55) to the observant who can then judge the morality of the person whose

body is thus articulate; this body responds sympathetically to the suffering of others, and sacrifices itself to the interest of others. Thus, the idealized wife, Louisa, rushes to her husband's assistance, shouting "My life for his! . . . my life for his!" in the "overflowings of [her] noble heart" (70), and the other sensible characters of the tale are similarly overwrought when they imagine the suffering of Louisa's husband, Seafield. In the words of the epigraph to Everard's narrative, "Oh! I have suffered / With those, whom I saw suffer." Colonial relations, however, are shaped by the violent body which refuses to submit itself to such surveillance or otherwise link itself to the "common effort" (in Renan's phrase). Such bodies are insensible: self-interested, they do not act on behalf of others, or even in concert *with* others. Everard arranges a rescue party, relying about "a dozen of the bravest among the [Ceylonese] domestics" (66), but is abandoned: "how did our heart sicken at perceiving, that the faithless cowards had shrunk from the danger now that it was so near at hand, and had profited by the darkness to steal away *one by one*!" (67; my emphasis).

The anaconda itself is, on a number of levels, a typical orientalist symbol of the East: feminine, seductive, violent, difficult to see, prone to lethargy, and with voracious appetites, it at once terrifies and fascinates Everard. But its effects on Seafield are peculiar as well as fatal: "pestilential vapours, constantly exhaling from the monster's jaws" (87) "had penetrated into Seafield's close and sultry prison; and . . . had fallen upon his constitution like a baleful mildew, and planted the seeds of dissolution in the very marrow of his life" (107–8). "Seafield's sufferings in that fatal pavillion had injured his constitution irreparably" (107). Seafield is doubly vulnerable: although he is never touched or directly threatened by the snake, his body is infected by its "pestiferous breath" (107) and disabled by his fear of it. Lewis here depends on the familiar trope of representing the circulation of ideas as viral, and on the reports, familiar to his audience, of outbreaks of cholera and other diseases among English people in colonial areas.[29] While the anaconda represents the orient, its breath represents the means by which the empire can strike back – spreading through the English social body, "plant[ing] the seeds of dissolution," in Everard's words.

Most of the narrative defines the power of the East in terms of its ability to excite English sensibilities. Seafield's "villa" "was of no great extent; but it united in their fullest perfection all those charms, which render Nature in that climate so irresistible an enchantress"; a "small circular pavillion . . . was situated on a small eminence, whence the

prospect over land and sea was of a description rich, varied, and extensive. Around it towered a thick circle of palm-trees, resembling a colonnade; their leafy fans formed a second cupola above the roof; and while they prevented a single sunbeam from piercing through the coolness of their embowering shades, their tall and slender stems permitted not the eye to lose one of the innumerable charms afforded by the surrounding landscape" (30–1). It is while he rests in this pavillion that Seafield becomes vulnerable to the anaconda. And the anaconda is described in terms similar to that of the landscape:

> "We call it an Anaconda, and its kind is in size the most enormous, in nature the most fierce, and in appetite the most ravenous, of any to be found through all Ceylon! – See! see!" he continued, approaching one of the windows, "See! how the monster plays among the branches! It always twines and twists itself into those folds, and knots, and circles, when it prepares to dart itself upon the ground like lightning to seize its prey! – Oh! my master! my poor dear master! He never can escape! Nothing can save him!" (38)
>
> We could now examine it with the most perfect distinctiness, and the eye was able to take in at once the whole extent of its gigantic structure. It was a sight calculated to excite in equal degrees our horror and our admiration: it united the most singular and brilliant beauty with every thing, that could impress the beholder with apprehension; and though while gazing upon it I felt, that every limb shuddered involuntarily, I was still compelled to own, that never had I witnessed an exhibition more fascinating or more gratifying to the eye. (47–8)

Both the landscape and the snake are described in terms of circles, concealment, artificial construction (from the architectural "colonnade" and "cupola" to the dramatic "exhibition" "calculated to excite"), and an enchanting but dangerous beauty. Throughout "The Anaconda," the orient is defined as a place of predation, but specifically of a predation that is terrible for its offense to sensibility. Milman introduces it as a place of "tigers and alligators that swallow up poor dear little children at a mouthful, and great ugly black-a-moor monsters, who eat nothing but human flesh, heaven bless us!" (4). Excessive predation is limited to cannibalism and child-devouring monsters on terms that recall William Beckford's Giaour in the seminal orientalist gothic, *Vathek*, first published in English in 1786.[30]

The problem of the national subject in colonial exile is thus clearly expressed: the orient, by its very insensibility, tortures the sensible individual into an excessive feeling that is ultimately numbing. Hence, when the Ceylonese servant, Zadi, tells Louisa and Everard about the

anaconda, making it all too clear that Seafield is in serious danger, Louisa and Everard are violently altered (and othered):

> Half of this alarming explanation was more than enough to throw the wretched Louisa into a state of distraction. Her features so distorted by terror, that she was scarcely to be known for the same woman, her eyes stretched almost to breaking, and her hands folded together with as strong a grasp, as if she meant them never to be again separated, she exclaimed in a voice so hollow and so expressive of suffocation, that it pierced her hearers to the very heart. . . . Overpowered by her sensations, she fainted in my arms . . . and I bore the pale insensible Louisa back to her own apartment, though Zadi's dreadful narrative had almost deprived me of animation myself. (38–9)

Similarly, after his release, "every feature of [Seafield's] noble countenance was so changed, that he was scarcely to be recognized" (103). The heart palpitations, faintings, physical distortions, and so forth, moreover, are always constructed as a fear for Seafield, who is locked in an oriental space – a veranda, shrouded in foliage, and encircled by the anaconda.

The colonial space here approximates the sentimental site of suffering, as theorized by Adam Smith, insofar as it emphasizes the virtuous responses of others to the suffering of the victim, but that response propagates the originary violence rather than elicits pleasure through the spectator's recognition of his or her own virtue as is conventional in sentimental theory. Thus, "In the agony of grief [Louisa] had burst a blood vessel," and dies (110), while "a long and dangerous illness was the consequence of [Everard's] mental sufferings" (111). Similarly, when Everard returns from Ceylon, he bears a "solemn look" (5) and his refusal to discuss his time in the orient leads to speculations that terrify his friends: the story opens, " 'The Lord in heaven forbid,' exclaimed the old man, while every limb was convulsed with horror – the blood forsook his cheeks, and he clasped his hands in agony" (3) and, later, his fiancée is "Terrified almost out of her senses" (17) at the prospect that Everard has been corrupted by the orient. The violence that acts upon their bodies is no less effective because it gains access through their sensibilities. In fact, it is more easily propagated: each spectator is terrified by the suffering of a victim, and so becomes a new, suffering victim, in a recursive series of sympathetic responses that cannot be halted except almost parodically by Everard's acceptance of a kiss as "a reward in full for the sufferings, which he had experienced" (114).

Throughout Lewis's tale, the orient serves to endanger the morality as well as the health of English national subjects, and to establish

English virtue through the proper terror at oriental effects. But this is a double bind: to be properly terrified is to be affected by the orient in physically and emotionally dangerous ways. Of the English characters in the tale, two end up dead and the third, Everard, "resolved to withdraw from a land, rendered hateful to [him] by such bitter recollections" (111). To be English is to be permeable, affected, and, ultimately, traumatized by colonial experience, so that suffering and terror circulate, along with colonial lucre, from the orient to, and then through, English society. Everard, back in England and wealthy, cannot "recollect the dreadful service which [he] rendered Seafield . . . without feeling [his] frame convulsed with horror, and [his] mind tortured by the most painful recollections" (113). Lewis, while admitting the immediate economic benefits of colonialism, questions the social and psychological effects of placing English subjects in colonial settings and thus the long-term viability of colonialism. In "The Anaconda," the orient is the site of a permanently disabling terror to sensible English subjects, and thus resists colonization.

THE IN-BETWEEN OF COLONIAL IRELAND: THE CASE OF ANNE O'CONNOR

On Milman's malapropism – "Anaconda" altered to "Anne O'Connor" – turns the tale. While both the anaconda and Anne O'Connor are marked as feminine, colonial sources of wealth, the killing of one is represented as a heroic response to oriental monstrosity and the killing of the other as a monstrously unchivalric response to a helpless woman. Lewis's narrative thus draws clear, implicitly racial distinctions between colonial possessions: Ireland is the locus of sentimentality, and the East Indies are the locus of gothic terror; both Ireland and Ceylon are figured through the feminine, but, in the moral certainties of the gothic, one must be killed and the other must not. "The Anaconda" thus does double-duty, serving at once to participate in the new sentimentalization of Ireland in the wake of the Act of Union, inaugurated by the Edgeworths' recognition of Ireland as a new sister at the end of their *Essay on Irish Bulls*, as well as to join an emergent body of orientalist literature specifically concerned with colonial management, a body of literature that anticipates the "imperial gothic" that Patrick Brantlinger finds at the end of the nineteenth century. Lewis's narrative is a honeycomb of metonymic associations and parallels which, as an assemblage, identify the anaconda with a gothically rendered orient, and then

distinguish Ireland from it. The association of the orient with the feminine is thus fractured, its asymmetries invoked in an attention to race and present threat. The phallic snake represents the oriental female not as doubly feminized, but as a threat to English patriarchal order, an order whose efficacy is contingent on the emasculation of the snake. Anne O'Connor as an Irish woman is within the purview of familiar European norms but she is colonized. Her dangerousness is directed not at the English but her Irish father (or husband) – a form of self-violence that keeps her threat within the space of the domestic and beyond the space of empire.

During the killing of the anaconda, Lewis comes closest to an orientalist construction of the East as the site of a dangerous femininity. Since the snake is vulnerable after eating, Everard drives cattle towards it. Most of the herd stops as soon as possible "to feed upon the welcome herbiage" (96), but not the bull: "great was my joy at perceiving the bull separate himself from the rest of the herd and begin to ascend the hill.... [N]ot a sound was to be heard, except the noise of scattered branches, as the bull trampled them beneath his feet" (96). It is easy to read the bull as a reference to John Bull, and to the English colonial agent – separating himself from the "green & pleasant Land"[31] to face danger for the good of the group, and at first trampling any obstacles with his powerful frame. This identification is reinforced by the use of the word "noble" to characterize both the bull and the colonial settler Seafield. But then the anaconda pounces. In a gory description of the struggle in which all sympathy is on the side of the bull, it becomes clear that the power of the animal only prolongs its agony:

> Unequal as was the strife, still it was not over instantly. The noble beast wanted not spirit to defend himself, nor was his strength easily exhausted. Now he rolled himself on the ground, and endeavoured to crush the enemy with his weight; now he swelled every nerve and exerted the power of every muscle to burst the fetters, in which his limbs were enveloped; he shook himself violently: he stamped; he bit; he roared; he pawed up the earth; he foamed at the mouth, and then dashed himself on the ground again with convulsive struggles. But with every moment the Anaconda's teeth imprinted on his flesh new wounds; with every moment she drew her folds tighter and tighter. (97–8)

In the confrontation between the monstrous snake and the noble bull, nobility loses. The bull, unable to defeat the snake, can only be the sacrifice which makes it possible for Everard, with his English gun, to wound the snake and so allow the Ceylonese to destroy the now incapacitated snake as it lay "upon the grass motionless and helpless" (102).

While Moore's nationalist characters draw their strength to resist from their patriotic "inmost core" (see 101, above), Lewis focuses on an instance in which such strength only prolongs suffering.

The sexual connotations are as clear as one would expect from Lewis. Through the phallic snake, the virile bull, and the musquet (whose "ball" strikes the snake "close by her eye" [101]), Lewis uses the power of the erotic and the categories of gender, as in his novel *The Monk*, to heighten the horror. The double-genderedness of the snake, at once feminine and excessively phallic, is essential to its monstrosity, and its consumption of the idealized symbol of male virility, the bull, suggests at once its threat and the sacrifice necessary to destroy it. After crushing the bull's bones and swallowing it whole, the snake is unable to move. Fecund rather than phallic, the anaconda is finally vulnerable: "her stomach distended," she lies "impotent and defenceless, a prey even to the least formidable foe" (101). Once the anaconda is contained by the category of the feminine, Everard can finally fire his gun. But it takes "a thousand blows," struck with the assistance of the Ceylonese, to kill the snake (102), and Everard's power in the face of an oriental threat remains marginal in its efficacy and excessive in its price. Seafield, symbolically linked with the bull, finally emerges from the veranda: enervated to the point of emasculation, he soon dies.

In the lexicon of eighteenth-century sensibility, Everard's and Seafield's emotional vulnerability is not the problem. As George Haggerty notes, sensibility is most fully available to the male gender in literature of this period.[32] The problem lies in the overstimulation of that sensibility by an orient that gothically threatens the body. The overtly sexual symbols of the anaconda's death scene – the swelling bull, the pregnant snake, the gun which pierces the eye – place the problem in the realm of bodies rather than minds. The English are not culturally inadequate to the task of colonization, but physically inadequate. This at once protects the supremacy of English civility and reinforces the story's suggestion that English bodies are too vulnerable in oriental spaces. And it is here that Anne O'Connor enters Lewis's imperial schema.

Anne O'Connor is, like the anaconda, a dangerous feminine figure that murders a noble figure of masculinity. In Milman's version of Mirza's tale, she kills and robs Mr. O'Connor, but does so for love of Everard. She is thus secured within the category of the domestic feminine; that is, her actions and desires originate in her affection for and devotion to a man. Moreover, the male figure at risk in Milman's version is the Irish patriarch: the Irish kill each other for love of the English colonizer.

Anne O'Connor's murder of her father thus figures imperial fantasy of the sort we saw in the Edgeworth tales discussed in Chapter 2: she severs herself from the Irish domestic space in an attempt to insert herself into the more desireable English domestic space. The work of colonization, from acculturation to the elimination of indigenous power, is thus accomplished through the desires of the colonized instead of the force of the colonizer. Thus far, Milman's version neutralizes the threat of the colonial other by restoring gender stability and diminishing the colonial threat to the imperial agent. But the figure of Anne O'Connor is more complex than this. With divided loyalties and the only ill-gotten wealth of the tale, she is also the (imaginary) locus of the violence, illicit wealth, and the collapse of familial relations that can follow, as the Hastings' impeachment showed, imperial intervention. But she is safely imaginary, the figment of a gossip's over-fertile imagination.

In this regard, Lewis's tale is usefully examined through the lens of John Barrell's paradigm, "this/that/the Other," outlined in my Introduction. To reiterate, Barrell argues that between the binary terms of "this" and "the Other" lies "that," the group that is alienated from "this" domestically but aligned with it when "this" feels threatened by "the Other" (the foreign Orient) so that the East End of London is dangerously exotic to an aristocrat from central London, but English when that aristocrat is threatened by the Far East and needs allies. Barrell discusses De Quincey's *Confessions* in this context, but similar representations of the East End as the medial East can be seen in a number of other texts, including such Irish texts as Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (see Chapter 6) and Stoker's *Dracula*. This paradigm is readily adapted to situate Ireland, as a colonial space in Europe, between the imperial metropole and the Orient. Thus, in Lewis's rhetoric of appetite and monstrosity, the oriental anaconda is driven by excessive and murderous appetites, Anne O'Connor is willing to kill for Everard, but English desire is safely contained within the Seafields' well-regulated domestic sphere. Similarly, civility is constructed through sensibility, and it defines the English characters of the narrative, inadequately defines the imagined Anne O'Connor, and is utterly lacking, almost by definition, in the orient which so offends a properly sensitive sensibility. On the spectrum from the colonial abject to the civilized and sensible subject, Ireland lies between India and England: it is "that," neither fully "this" nor fully "Other."

While the orient remained a space resistant to English domination, Ireland was, at least nominally in 1808, assimilated. The early years of

the nineteenth century were dominated by a conciliatory rhetoric in which England and Ireland were reunited sisters, fast friends rather than old enemies, transformed by the Act of Union which decisively separated the two nations from a troubled past by reconfiguring their political relationship. Collapsed into the liminal space of a now absorbed colonial other and the now only imagined Irish body, O'Connor is the vehicle through which imperial excesses are doubly projected onto a troubled past, and then rendered fantastic – like the orient of English literature before the 1780s. Anne O'Connor, aligned with colonial violence, dangerous desire, and ill-gotten wealth, becomes a kind of scapegoat, expelled from the domain of the "real" with the sins of the imperial past on her back. She is reduced to an Irish bull, a laughable error, rather than a threat to English civility and hegemony. There are, after all, no longer any snakes in Ireland.

A generation before the age of high capitalism and imperialism, Lewis's tale addresses the socioeconomic implications of colonial settlements. Lewis, in effect, poses the problem for which the Victorians' "muscular Christianity" would be the solution. Instead of a sensible mimic, the universal subject of Enlightenment philosophy rendered superior through refined sensitivity and sociability (like Edgeworth's and Morgan's heroes), the Victorians relied on a notion of English subjectivity that was hypermasculine and so impervious to colonial affect: unlike the terrified Everard, the Victorian hero, like Drummond's Rajah, is rational rather than sensible, restrained rather than repressed, and independent, if not solitary, rather than bound by feeling ties to his community. For Lewis, as for many of his contemporaries, the solution was not so easy as it was for the more imperially successful Victorians: his generation had seen the loss of the American colonies, the bloody suppression of the 1798 Irish uprising, military conflicts in India, and the exposure of English imperial predation during the Warren Hastings impeachment, as well as some of the domestic socioeconomic implications of the upward social mobility offered to colonial agents. In "The Anaconda," Lewis translates the gothic into the colonial space: instead of a virtuous heroine whose chastity is threatened by unfeeling brutes, we have a virtuous English settler class whose sensibilities are overwrought by unfeeling brutes; instead of ghosts and other supernatural mechanisms, we have the exotic flora and fauna of the orient; and the shadow of sexual guilt that hangs over the hero is refracted through imperial and economic desires. And, as in much of the gothic of Lewis's day, escape is the only path by which the virtuous

can avoid defeat. For Edgeworth's protagonists, however, the risk is sufficiently contained to remain in the space of the real: as long as Jervas's and Dominick's loyalties remain fixed on the British patriarchs who have befriended them, they can work to extend regulated sensibility into the newly colonized space of India. The stereotypical attribute of Irish vivacity is thus appropriated by Edgeworth to serve rather than resist empire: the passionate attachment of the Celtic boy to his British mentor secures the Irish mind in the Indian space, creating a powerful mediator for British interests in India and within the British Isles – and, crucially, a mediator who reforms rather than succumbs to the gothic space.

CHAPTER 5

"Some Neglected Children": Thwarted Genealogies in Colonial History

> "The history of Ireland repeats itself from age to age with such a mournful rhythm, that Moore's poems find as quick a response in the hearts of the people now as when first published. Each generation goes through the same phases – resistance, defeat, despair. The new generation follows with hopes as brilliant and resolves as bold, again to try, again to fail. And so the sad trilogy is acted from age to age, while the nation can only helplessly mourn, as victim after victim falls dead in the dust of the arena."
>
> Lady Jane Wilde, *Notes on Men, Women, and Books* (1891)

While the focus of the previous chapter was the use of the gothic to represent imperial territorial possessions as insensible, the texts considered in the present chapter use the narrative conventions of the gothic to represent colonial time as stultifying, repetitive, and fragmentary. In Morgan's "Absenteeism," Charles Robert Maturin's *Melmoth the Wanderer*, and Denis Florence MacCarthy's "Afghanistan," the insensibility, and general unresponsiveness, of imperial power and its agents forestalls the progress of colonized peoples. The romance structures of imperial history that were generally written from the metropole are reworked on terms commensurate with gothic conventions to subvert that history's ideological claims and tacit reassurances. Morgan takes a long view in her writings on Irish history to suggest, anticipating Jane Wilde, that English governmental practice "repeats itself from age to age" on terms that produce the same Irish "response in the hearts of the people" (see epigraph, above). The proverbial antiquity of Indian civilization, however, offers writers such as Charles Robert Maturin and Denis Florence MacCarthy an opportunity to stretch colonial history back still further and so transform the orientalist emphasis on the age of Asian civilization into an anti-imperial emphasis on the relentlessly unchanging brutality of empire.[1]

FRAGMENTED NARRATIVES: COLONIAL HISTORIOGRAPHY AND IRISH GOTHIC FICTION

In studies of nineteenth-century writings to and from the colonies, the categories of the gothic and romance persistently surface, from Suleri's important point that "the conventions of romance control the literatures of Anglo-Indian colonization" to Brantlinger's elaboration of the category of "imperial gothic" for a body of literature that expresses unease about waning imperial expansion, and Julian Moynahan's argument that Irish writers were so successful within the gothic because colonial Ireland is marked by the anxieties, conflicts, and violence that inform the conventions of that mode.[2] Written from the perspective of a settler class "isolated from and threatened by the overwhelming majority of the unfranchised and confiscated Catholic native Irish,"[3] Anglo-Irish gothic addresses the conventional gothic concern with proper lines of inheritance that was introduced in Horace Walpole's originary gothic, *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), as well as reflects the sense of a hostile environment that permeates gothic fictions from Ann Radcliffe's *The Italian* (1797) to Victorian renderings of London's poorer corners, but in the specific terms of the colonial situation.

But at stake here are narrative forms that engage with different historiographical premises. The romance and whig history are narratologically similar, obeying the conventions of auspicious origins, deferred conclusions, and inexorable progress in between. Thomas Carlyle's remark is typical: "man has ever been a striving, struggling, and, in spite of wide-spread calumnies to the contrary, a veracious creature: the Centuries too are all lineal children of one another; and often, in the portrait of early grandfathers, this and the other enigmatic feature of the newest grandson shall disclose itself, to mutual elucidation."[4] Within such a framework, as Lloyd argues, "the nation-state in effect regulates what counts as history, and gives the law of historical verisimilitude which decides between the contingent and the significant."[5] But the gothic and what I term "colonial historiography"[6] rely on the inverse, as narrative continuity gives way to disruption, comic conclusions to tragic ones, and origins are lost rather than perpetually present. Instead of Carlyle's vision, we have, as Jerrold Hogle puts it in a discussion of the English gothic, "a pervasively counterfeit existence: the fact of signifiers referring back to signifiers, none of which contain or connect to their own meanings in the ways their users and observers assume they do or wish they could."[7]

In many of the colonial histories produced by Irish writers in the first half of the nineteenth century, the imperial claim to facilitate the colonized nation's progress towards civilization is countered by accounts which seek to demonstrate that empire thwarts the nation's natural progress, stunting cultural growth, disenfranchising the rightful stewards of the nation's welfare, and disabling economic prosperity, producing, in short, the gothic *mise en abyme* of "a pervasively counterfeit existence." The intertwining of colonial historiography and gothic conventions translates empire's symptomatic disregard for "national feeling" from the narrow focus of national and personal crisis (such as the 1798 Irish Uprising or the enervation of such characters as Horatio and Glenthorn), into a larger history of such crises. This larger "history," in Jane Wilde's compelling phrase, "repeats itself from age to age with . . . a mournful rhythm" and so produces an unchanging "response in the hearts of the people."[8] Sensibility is locked into stultifying repetition and negative emotion, instead of furthering the Enlightenment ideals of social justice, benevolence, national cohesion, and moral development as imagined by Hume, Adam Smith, and Home. Consequently, the texts considered in this chapter differ from those addressed earlier in suggesting that present crises are less important than the imperial and institutional pressures which produce those crises over and over again.

By addressing the interaction between the gothic and colonial historiography across genres and generations of nineteenth-century Irish writing, this discussion necessarily engages the vexed question of the degree to which a body of writing associated with a demographic group is defined by the political circumstances of that group. Clearly, not all women's writing contests patriarchy, not all working-class literature deals with socioeconomic inequity, and not all nineteenth-century Irish writing falls neatly into the categories of anti-colonial Catholic and pro-colonial Protestant. Moreover, to allow such generalities is to reproduce the oppressive ideology in claiming that the demographic group is homogeneous rather than being an assemblage of individuals with overlapping demographic allegiances and experiences as well as personal autonomy. Yet, without assuming or seeking homogeneity, we can note suggestive trends in literature which speak to the specifics of the writers' situations. I would hesitate to argue that the colonial situation is coercive as Leerssen does: in their non-gothic texts, he suggests, Maturin and Morgan find that "their choice of an Irish setting attracts them *forcibly* towards the exotic fascination with that other Ireland which is set amid scenes of sublime natural splendour, populated by pauperized but

picturesque peasants and by descendants of the ousted Gaelic nobility who live out a life of remembered greatness and contemporary oppression."[9] Moynahan instead attributes the dominance of the gothic in Irish writing to resonances between the literary mode and the lived reality of nineteenth-century Ireland: "Politically oppressed, underdeveloped in the far west and southwest, disrupted and distressed by famines, clearances, uprisings, and the depredations of the rural secret societies, devoutly Catholic in its majority population, and full of romantic scenery and prehistoric, not to say feudal, ruins, nineteenth-century Ireland was an impressive candidate for Gothic treatment."[10] But the engagement with the gothic goes much further than settings and topoi in some of the writings produced in Ireland in the first half of the nineteenth century, and among these writings are texts that also draw widely on literary, historical, and philosophical traditions and thus suggest not a "forcibl[e] attraction" or a response to a lived reality but rather a discursive strategy – and a successful one, at that. It is consequently tacit in the following argument – and, indeed, throughout this study – that literary devices are used strategically to address particular problems of representation. The gothic offers a set of conventions that, as tools, facilitate a particular perspective on the imperial intervention into the nation's progress.

While he does not invoke the gothic as a literary category, Lloyd has linked Irish writing and the kind of narrative disruption commonly identified with the gothic in his chapter "Violence and the Constitution of the Novel." Lloyd builds on Antonio Gramsci's argument that the "history of subaltern groups" is "necessarily fragmented and episodic" in order to argue that the nineteenth-century Irish novel's perceived failure to meet literary standards, especially those which buttress the merits of the English Victorian novel, arises from a "crisis of representation."[11] (Using Gramsci rather than Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak to ground the "subaltern" allows Lloyd to negotiate the complicated abjection of the Irish subject: the Irish are subaltern in the more literal sense of being on a lower hierarchical rung and, through their access to print culture, are not as silenced as the subaltern of Spivak's influential work.)[12] This crisis is a result of various cultural and political forces put into play by the colonial dispensation, from stereotypes of the Irish as violent to historiographical notions of civil progress.[13] Lloyd concludes,

> The necessary myth of the [English] novel, its formal transcendence of or aesthetic disinterest in social conflicts, is unusually difficult to maintain.

This is borne out in the little-noted fact that, quite apart from the articulate crisis of representation it underwent, and the general aesthetic dissatisfaction it produces in its critics, the nineteenth-century Irish novel produced not a single "representative type" for Irish culture, with the dubious and in any case anomalous exceptions of the Colleen Bawn and Dracula. We are only just beginning to forge the theoretical terms in which the atypicality of the Irish novel can be analysed but, to borrow a line from Tom Dunne, it may be that we are approaching a "less coherent but in many ways more interesting" theory of the novel.[14]

Lloyd's argument in this chapter is compelling and useful for a discussion of the non-canonical status of Irish novels, but it does oversimplify the English novel somewhat. The "Condition of England" novel was canonical in its time and after, and it certainly addressed many of the pressures that Lloyd here makes anathematic to the English novel, but we can further complicate matters by considering the subcanons of the sensation novel, political novels of the Romantic period, and so forth. More to my point, however, Stoker's *Dracula* offers perhaps less an anomaly than a point of entry into another canon. While many Irish novels failed to achieve canonical status, the view becomes a little different if we look at the gothic rather than the "high canon" of English letters, which has in the past tended to focus rather narrowly on the realist novel of the Victorian era. Maturin, J. Sheridan Lefanu, Stoker, and Oscar Wilde are among the most frequently republished and discussed authors of nineteenth-century gothic fiction in the British Isles, and they are all Anglo-Irish. Only Shelley's *Frankenstein* and the work of American author Edgar Allan Poe appear as regularly in discussions of nineteenth-century gothic.

Indeed, Maturin's *Melmoth the Wanderer* is conventionally invoked as a gothic *tour de force*, a defining moment in the genre of the gothic novel.[15] But attempts were made at the time of its publication to frame the novel as characteristically Irish because symptomatically gothic:

In his best passages there is always a mixture of extravagance. . . . And yet, where is the lover of imaginative excitement, that ever laid down one of his books unfinished – or the man of candour and discrimination, who ever denied, after reading through any one of them, that Maturin is gifted with a genius as fervently powerful as distinctly original – that there is ever and anon a truth of true poetry diffused over the thickest chaos of his absurdities. . . . It is no wonder that a young author of the true Milesian breed should regard with very considerable indifference the cavils of the hypercritical; – nay, that he should be contented to go on "sinning glorious sins" – a sort of applauded rebel against all the constituted authorities of the literary judgment-seat.

> But, nevertheless, it is a very great pity that such should be the continued course of his career. . . . He should remember, that it is one thing to be an English classic, and another to occupy "ample room and verge enough" in every circulating library throughout the land. We are far from saying that Mr Maturin should write less – but we do say, that he should write a great deal more – observe a great deal more – and correct a great deal more.[16]

"Extravagance," "imaginative excitement," "sinning glorious sins," "absurdities," and, the cruellest cut of all, proper to a "circulating library" are the terms of standard anti-gothic fare, and they jostle against the language applied to the unruly Irish – "a sort of applauded rebel against all the constituted authorities." That this reviewer nationalizes the gothic, rendering Englishness – via the "English classic" – as descriptive rather than imaginative, correct rather than excessive, reinforces Lloyd's argument and recalls Eagleton's assertion, "Language is strategic for the oppressed, but representational for their rulers."[17] That the reviewer declares a Protestant author of Huguenot descent to be "of the true Milesian breed," a term for an Irish descent that can be traced back to Milesius, long before colonization, reveals the degree to which Maturin is being subjected to an essentializing notion of national character rather than national culture. But Maturin's fiction, as even this reviewer must acknowledge, was widely read as well as displayed "a genius as fervently powerful as distinctly original."

The Anglo-Irish gothic succeeds in formalist terms in part because it makes a virtue of the very features that this reviewer laments and which Lloyd traces from Gramsci's notion of subaltern history and associates with the failure of Irish fiction to enter the canon that privileged realist fiction – specifically, fragmented and episodic narrative structure, the staging of social crises without offering a meaningful resolution, and the evasion of "official history" through narrative contestation. As Lloyd argues, "Official history cannot address the possibility that both the persistence and the forms of violence in Irish history constitute not simply barbarous aberrations but a continuing contestation of a colonial civil society's modes of domination *and representation*."[18] But, as Moynahan notes in his discussion of nineteenth-century Anglo-Irish gothic, "A peculiar distinction of the Gothic literary style and a clue to its staying power, is its ability to convey, through oblique, symbolic, or allegorically encoded language, truths, feelings, and desires that the official culture and 'mainstream' writing little notice and sometimes suppress."[19] While there are literal reasons for aligning Ireland with the gothic, particularly poverty, ruins of the pre-colonial past, and the secrecy

of rebel organizations,[20] there are also shared interests in coded discourse – a language for addressing the inexpressible. Gibbons' argument about the Irish "recourse to figuration" revolves around the perceived duplicity of the Irish, but also bears consideration in relation to the gothic:

> One of the ways of explaining away the recourse to figuration was to construe it as a strategic device, deliberately coding information and sentiments that were already known in a literal sense, but which could not be uttered directly because of the fear of being charged with sedition. . . . The French commentator Augustin Thierry was more to the point when he observed that those who had recourse to such symbolic practices also succeeded in placing a barrier between *themselves* and a reality that was too painful for clear and distinct ideas.[21]

The figurative thus doubly conceals, hiding the reality of resistance from the colonizer and the reality of colonization from the recalcitrant colonized. The crisis of historical representation – that is, the representation of a history unamenable to claims of autonomous and coherent national progress – raised by the colonial dispensation in Ireland is consequently readily met through gothic strategies, and the gothic, moreover, when it confronts the problems of coloniality, runs into a crisis of historical representation that attenuates the gothic form.

THWARTING HISTORICAL PROGRESS: ITERATION AND CONTINGENCY IN MORGAN'S "ABSENTEEISM"

Although best-known for her national tales, Morgan made significant contributions to the liberal periodical press in Britain – contributions that are barely acknowledged in her biographies and have as yet received no critical attention except for those reviews which were part of controversies over other authors (as in her notorious review of Carlyle's *Past and Present*).[22] While the anonymous nature of periodical writing makes it difficult to fully trace her contributions, it is clear that she wrote at least 135 reviews and articles for the *New Monthly Magazine* and the British *Athenaeum* between 1824 and 1843.[23] My focus here will be on her contributions to the *New Monthly Magazine* on the subject of Irish history, particularly the three-part series "Absenteeism" (1824–1825), later republished in 1825 as a single volume under her name, and the essay "Irish Lords Lieutenant" (1829).[24] In these essays, Morgan not only reinforces her general nationalist position in which Ireland's nationality is expressed in the sentimental terms of moral

suffering and sympathy, and England's imperial activities are expressed as the suppression or distortion of that Irish sensibility, she also contests the dominant form of British historiography by representing the history of English domination in Ireland as one that is informed by contingency and productive of repetition rather than progress; English history is the same story of corruption, greed, and short-sightedness repeatedly, and Ireland, forced into a position of struggle against those colonial effects, is thus similarly trapped in the English narrative. National feeling, conversely, produces moments of organic coherence and unity that can periodically erupt into the unchanging time of colonial domination.

As Jon Klancher argues of 1790s British historiography, "the power of such historiography had been to grasp the emerging, differentiated spheres of a complex modernity as the unanticipated outcome of an inexorable historical process, periodized in the four great stages that culminate in commercial society."[25] The contingent thus emerges in significant ways in William Godwin's formulation of history, Klancher suggests, because it treats of what exceeds this historiographical model – agency, perspective, accident, action. In histories of Ireland produced in the early nineteenth century, Ireland's colonial status pivots on its location in relation to these two modes of history. Conservative writers sought to incorporate Ireland into the empire by involving it in a process-oriented and Anglocentric history, one in which submission to British cultural authority inaugurates a process of maturation through which the colonized subject can gain access to modernity, as in the texts by the Edgeworths and Drummond discussed above. But anti-colonial writers tended to represent Ireland's natural historical development as thwarted by the colonial intervention. Colonization, precisely because it is an intervention in a culture that could potentially develop along its own historical track, is a vehicle of contingency which throws Irish history-writing from the rails of linear narrative. Thus, for instance, in Moore's satirical history of English colonization in Ireland, the *Memoirs of Captain Rock*, colonization produces only the same rebellion under the same name – the Rocks – across the centuries of English rule. In Moore's *Memoirs*, as I have argued elsewhere, "Instead of a history that produces remainders in the march towards progress and coherence, Moore offers a history in which there is only repetition and simile. Irish history, including insurrections, is characterized not as the consequence of a subaltern failure to transcend the pre-modern but as the inevitable effect of English colonial practice."[26]

"Absenteeism" is traditionally the term for Irish landlords habitually living somewhere other than their estates in Ireland and the problems which it produces. In an age when estate-owners were often responsible for the administration of justice as well as benevolent measures such as care for the sick and needy, absenteeism disrupted traditional social order. Absenteeism, much discussed in Romantic-era Ireland, involved a series of problems which arose from the absence of landlords from their lands in Ireland. Unavailable to supervise and protect their tenants, absentees were associated with abuses by managers, poorly maintained properties, and a general breakdown in the ethical order. Surveying Irish colonial history from the Tudor period through to her own day, Morgan redefines absenteeism as a "cabalistic term" (481) whose meaning is subject to change: she not only exposes its rhetorical effects in distracting from the real problems which plague Ireland, but also revises its signification to refer to those who are forced from Ireland by colonial pressure, whether through executions, exiles, hostage-taking, or a less-obviously coerced flight from an abjected nation. In doing so, she produces a history of colonial rule that is structured by episode rather than the progress assumed by whig historiography. Moreover, she suggests that the periodical form – as she employs it in her own series, and as she idealizes it in the Irish periodical press in the late eighteenth century – provides the most suitable means for overturning such disjunctive historical forces and uniting the nation in effective ways. The very responsiveness of the periodical form makes it possible for it to engage this episodic history,[27] and thus the gothic and the periodical become suitable genres through which to articulate Irish colonial conditions and concerns.

In setting up the transformative power of periodicals, moreover, Morgan values the responsiveness made possible by its regular and rapid publication. The periodical press synergetically feeds the "public spirit" necessary for national coherence, and on terms that anticipate Gellner's influential study, *Nations and Nationalism*. As Gellner argues, "Nationalism [is] the organization of human groups into large, centrally educated, culturally homogeneous units,"[28] and the culture that it disseminates in the name of homogeneity is that of the elite. Morgan thus imagines the effective formation of the nation requiring a kind of "trickle-down" cultural economics: great artists, the native gentry, and others produce cultural materials that are made popularly available and so unite the general population. But while Gellner primarily addresses the formation of nations as the assimilation of disparate local

cultures, Morgan's colonial paradigm demands a complication: her cultural nationalism counters, with varying degrees of efficacy, that of the British. As Irish elite culture assimilates the diverse population of Ireland into a national whole, British culture constantly threatens the coherence of Irish national culture through material colonial practices as well as cultural deformations of true Irishness. The periodical press emerges here as uniquely able to respond to "true Irishness" and so undermine British assimilatory pressures precisely because it participates in the structures of repetition which colonial history creates.

On terms consistent with the gothic and the periodical form, it is ephemeral moments and traces through which the line of resistance can be recouped (as opposed, for instance, to the "inmost core" which Moore's poetry celebrates [see 101, above]). In her statements about the United Irishmen uprising of 1798 in a review for the *Athenaeum*, Morgan connects the uprising to the past and future repetition of struggle against colonial domination, suggesting that, "as the Irish rebellion was not an isolated fact unconnected with political antecedents, so it cannot be regarded as unproductive of future consequences."[29] This hesitant double-negative – "not an isolated fact unconnected" – is echoed in her analysis of the ways in which rebellion survives: "nor is it credible that the vast and wide-spreading organization of the United Irishmen was so completely broken, as to leave no traces behind it. Many of its detached links, not improbably, still subsist, and are applied to a resistance to agrarian oppression" and so "Evidences of a general intelligence among the peasantry, for the purposes of revenge . . . again and again exhibit themselves."[30] Throughout her non-fiction writing on Irish history, Morgan draws on images of thwarted and weakened continuities, faint survivals of the shattering effects of the colonial power: "traces," "detached links," and facts "not unconnected" make possible the repetition of rebellion, "again and again." Instead of the grand march of history towards modernity, we have residues that survive in repetition because repetition is the only means of survival in a stultified narrative. While Moore personifies each generation of resistance to English colonial rule as the "Rock family," Morgan focuses on iterated ruling types – Irish Lords Lieutenant, absentee landlords, English monarchs – in order to construct a repetitive rather than a progressive history and identify that stultified history with English rule. She reinforces the implications of this form of history by employing various devices for disrupting the narrative line in relation to historical progress, ending her essays, for instance, with a gesture towards the inevitable continuance of the current state of affairs,

recounting a more distant historical moment via a story about a more recent failure to correctly remember that history, and so forth.

The series on "Absenteeism" superficially has a fairly cogent structure: the first part addresses colonial violence in the Tudor era; the second part considers the cultural impact of the colonial dispensation during the Stuart period; the third part focuses on the revival of a national culture in the eighteenth century, and then the collapse of that revival in the wake of the Act of Union of 1800. It is the third part which will prove crucial here, but it is first important to explore some of the ways in which Morgan provides a basis for her closing arguments by characterizing colonial power in very specific ways. In the first part of the series, Morgan stresses the ways in which English colonial practices produced absentees in the Renaissance, primarily through direct intimidation and an indirect form of bribery but on terms that are suggestively spectacular: "Sometimes they allured the Irish nobility to their splendid court for the purpose of dazzling their imagination and corrupting their patriotism. Sometimes they cited them as accused or criminals on shallow pretexts, to awe them by their array of power, or to intimidate them by their display of cruelty" (I: 484). She then traces the fate of the Geraldines, in relation to court machinations under Henry VIII, as various members of the family are forced to leave Ireland for one reason or another:

> New causes of complaint, and new reasons, were soon found or invented for once more drawing the Earl from his strong hold of his interest and power – his native country; and he was again "commanded by sharp letters to repair to England." His arrival there was followed by a report of his execution, which soon reached his family in Ireland. His son . . . on hearing of this supposed act of treachery against his father, threw down the sword of office, and flew into open rebellion, followed by his five uncles the Lords Fitzgerald. The insurrection was soon quelled; and the unfortunate Geraldines having surrendered, set out for England on the parole of the Lord Marshal Dorset, where, shortly after their arrival, they were all executed in one day. (I: 490)

The rather sentimentally drawn Lady Geraldine remains, in effect, a hostage in England after her family's near-annihilation. This end to the narrative of the Geraldines demonstrates a couple of points that are important to the framing of Morgan's essays. First, it represents Ireland as a space which functions, domestically and nationally, coherently and powerfully within its own borders and on terms that are continuous with familial feeling. In Ireland, the Earl has the affections of his family and inhabits the "strong hold of his interest and power"; in England, he is powerless, his son is tricked, the male members of his family executed,

and the women of the family mistreated. Second, and more importantly for my larger argument here, the insurrection is provoked by a rumour that Morgan terms, in a footnote, "a false muttering" (I: 490*n*) rather than a report of an actual execution. That is, it is a fiction which provokes the insurrection – but a fiction that the outcome of the insurrection makes prophetic. When Elizabeth I comes to the throne, the situation is worsened as her feminine display seduces the Irish still further: "It was reserved for the Virgin Queen to drive the genuine nobility of Ireland from their native land at any loss or risk into distant regions and unknown countries, or to allure them to her own formal and fantastic court, by a show of feminine sympathy which, though in direct contradiction to her whole policy and conduct, was well calculated to win the unwary, and to soothe the unfortunate" (I: 491–2). This first part in the series ends with Elizabeth's seduction of a "gallant Irishman," under cover of night, and her execution of him after his discovery of his lover's true identity, in an odd echo of the Cupid and Psyche myth.

Such carefully staged spectacles of English power and false sympathy are supplemented and countered by displays of Irishness in the second part of the series. In the second essay, for instance, Morgan includes a lengthy footnote on Ben Jonson's "Irish Masque," arguing that it was "got up to compliment the Irish absentees at the English Court" and "is either a bitter satire, or a disgusting picture of the state of Irish society at that epoch" (II: 46*n*). She quotes a lengthy passage, in heavy dialect, in which comically drawn Irish lords insist upon the loyalty of Irish subjects to the English king. Morgan's main text continues: "at once degraded and flattered abroad, the Irish nobility but too willingly lent themselves to the allurements held out by Charles the Second (the falsest of all their royal friends); and from the epoch of the Restoration absenteeship became a voluntary habit" (II: 46). While Irish lords were held hostage, actively tricked, or killed in the Renaissance, by the late seventeenth century a combination of cultural practices – "at once degraded and flattered" – makes the Irish lords work by themselves, in the Althusserian sense, as abjected colonial subjects.[31] Thus, "The habits of a great capital and a gay court confirmed their taste for emigration, and excited a disgust for their native land, which became, in the end, as fatal to their interests as it was destructive of their patriotism. Then absenteeism became a species of national malady, a disease, infinitely more grievous in its effects than [the plague]" (II: 46–7). These less direct forms of alienation do not, however, eliminate the more brutal forms. While Elizabeth I hanged Irish soldiers who had surrendered, Charles II exiled supporters of James II at the Battle of the

Boyne – forcing, according to Morgan, over four thousand Irishmen into foreign military service when they should have been fighting for their country (I: 492; II: 50).

While Elizabeth I uses false displays of sympathy to seduce the Irish, Stuart strategies of representation corrupt Irish sensibility, a sensibility which naturally tends towards nationalism: "For it is the effect of absenteeship to harden the heart against all the precious sympathies of patriotism, and it has ever been the practice of absentees to magnify and circulate the rumour of those national disorders which arise in part out of their own desertion of their native land, and which they suppose might offer a reason, if not an excuse, for their abandonment of that soil and its interests" (II: 49). Morgan traces the ways in which the colonial dispensation brutalizes Irish bodies and deceives Irish minds through displays of English power and Irish abjection throughout the Renaissance. But the "sympathies of patriotism" appear in full bloom when Morgan shifts the focus of her essays from the malevolent actions of the English state to the response of the Irish population. In an almost rhapsodic passage, Morgan celebrates the arrival of the eighteenth century:

> the nation made a sudden and a rapid progress in civilization and comfort, simply through the efficiency of its own resources, and the demands of its own market. It was in vain that the talismanic words "Irishman" and "Papist" were employed to arm passion and prejudice against the country; it was in vain that commercial jealousy threw shackles round its infant manufactures. In spite of these and many other obstacles, the moral strength of a country always distinguished for the natural endowments of its population, rose superior to the cruel pressure of its political inflictions; and the domestic activity and intellectual improvement of the people . . . proceeded with a rapidity little short of miraculous, under so stultifying a system of legislation and government. It was then that the light of national genius concentrated its long-scattered rays to a point, and shining steadily from its proper focus, threw out those inextinguishable sparks of moral lustre,
>
> —— "Which are wont to give
> Light to a world and make a nation live." (II: 51–2)

Morgan sets up a suggestive dynamic: the Irish are naturally patriotic and capable in the arts and industries and it takes constant and powerful material intervention ("shackles," "talisman[s]," and "cruel pressure") to suppress Irish economic and cultural power.

Cultural power is the crux on which the final pages of the second part turn. After praising the renewal of the "Irish bard," Irish drama, and Irish

music in the eighteenth century, Morgan argues for the potential of the arts to unite the people. The Irish thus "found in music a vehicle for their feelings and their passions, for their deep-seated indignation, and their long-meditated revenge," as music was popularly celebrated through "public concerts" in various venues, "while the conciliating genius of harmony . . . devoted its divine powers to smoothing political austerities, reknitting the social affections, and promoting the first of all human virtues – charity!" (II: 54). This follows the pattern identified by Gellner in which nationalism works to establish the culture of the elite as the culture of the nation as a whole. But Morgan also inserts Irish culture into that of Europe, arguing that "literary Europe stood indebted to Irish wit, fancy, and humour for the richest treats, which render the leisure of the learned delectable, and the amusement of the idle instructive" (II: 52–3). In other words, with the revival of Irish national culture, Ireland is incorporated, without losing its national distinctiveness, into a larger Europe rather than absorbed, and silenced, by Britain.

She then turns, however, to the present day in which the harmonies of music are perverted to promote "the discord of social disunion and the dissonance of party hatred": "Who now in Ireland but may look back with regret to the philharmonic societies 'of other times'. . . . Who but must shudder to perceive [music's] influence directed to rousing the irritable fibre, and stirring up the bile of political malady" (II: 54). Instead of musical harmonies making the national body whole again, the misdirected music of the 1820s makes the national body sick, and even fatally so – offering "the death-song of peace, and national confraternity" (II: 54). This phrase, "national confraternity," is a suggestive one. As Ferris has argued, Morgan uses the religiously inflected term "confraternity" in her fiction to identify a liberal, quasi-official "second world" that serves in her national tales as a countervailing alternative to colonial culture.[32] In the third part of the series, this "national confraternity," working on the margins, generates "The Public Spirit" that "fell like dew in the desert upon the renovating nation" through the vehicle of the periodical press (III: 164). For the first time, national renewal takes an effective public form within the Irish polity. Instead of failed rebellions and music susceptible to reversal, there is a public debate that openly addresses the nation's interests. The periodical press is held out as a means by which the nation has access to some kind of effective voice, hitherto the preserve of English monarchs, legislators, generals, and authors. Specifically, Morgan identifies the periodical press as the key mechanism through which colonial pressures are circumvented: through the periodicals, the

"native" gentry can work quasi-officially on the margins of and counter to colonial administration as well as engage the larger populace on the terms that nationalism requires.

Thus, in the third part of "Absenteeism," she lists a number of Irish literary notables, from Jonathan Swift to Henry Grattan, to indicate that they "contributed successively a portion of their luminous intellects to illustrate the pages of that mighty engine of public feeling – the Periodical Press. Whatever side was advocated, – the country or the court, patriotism or power, – it does not appear that any journal was set up on a merely sordid principle, or an utter disregard of all truth and decency" (III: 163–4). Morgan's public is partly defined, on terms that recall Klancher's study of the periodical press, as a "reading public":[33]

> For when the genuine and hereditary genry of Ireland, her hereditary senators and native legislators, made up the larger portion of the reading public of her capital, a journal edited by the nefarious and the base, by the hired assassin of reputation or the paid pander of ribald passions, would have been hunted down with one common feeling of national indignation and manly contempt. (III: 164)

A reading public of the "genuine and hereditary gentry" ensures a periodical press that is capable of drawing on "one common feeling of national indignation" when necessary to restore proper order. Here, the Irish are not the failed rebels, but an effective "confraternity" that monitors public discourse so that it functions effectively as a "mighty engine of public feeling." Instead of the displays of power in the first part or the cultural spectacles of the second part, the final essay in the series offers the mutual responsiveness of reading public and periodical press – and a nation under rightful rule (though not, clearly, a democracy). The Irish periodical press is both sensible, and hence governed by "manly contempt" for hostile behaviour, and the means of furthering sensible connections between members of the public. Alternatively, "The history of the Castle of Dublin . . . could it be faithfully and fairly written, would make a curious and amusing book. . . . Even the lodges of the groomer porters, and the chambers of the lord stewards, would furnish their quota of illustration, and show by what petty back-stair policy Ireland has always been governed."[34] In other words, the history of established power in Ireland – the Castle of Dublin being the seat of the colonial administration – is merely a "curious" compendium, a "quota of illustration," rather than the "mighty engine of public feeling" that purges the public sphere of "the nefarious and the base" while fostering national feeling.

The effective periodical press is the harbinger of a larger change as "The talent of the free suddenly burst into existence, as if by a divine miracle in the land of the enslaved" (III: 164). This renewal of national feeling counters colonial administrative power:

> When penal statutes and all that is intended by the false policy of shallow and self-interested legislators to disqualify man for the knowledge and assertion of his political rights, still continued to check the progress of civil liberty in Ireland, the combined efforts of the liberal and educated resident gentry were found sufficient to make head against a government which the sternest upholder of English power [Lord Clare] . . . declared "was enough to crush any nation on earth." (III: 166)

Morgan again condemns the duplicity of the English, but sets up a mechanism whereby a national polity can operate despite colonial pressure "to check the progress of civil liberty" – a pressure capable of "crush[ing] any nation on earth." Importantly, moreover, Morgan defines the regulation of the periodical press in terms of its ability to separate public issues from private concerns. In the ideal press, "There was then no waylaying with indiscriminate ruffianism the feelings of private individuals, no exhibition of the sacred details of the domestic life of political characters" (III: 164). It is crucial to Morgan's argument that the current periodical press fails to respect that separation, while the eighteenth-century Irish periodical press did regard that distinction and so demonstrated the sensibility to become "that mighty engine of public feeling." Part of the informing context, no doubt, is the scathing personal attacks on Morgan in the conservative British reviews, particularly the *Quarterly*, but the identification of political renovation with a moral press that recognizes the distinction between the public and private spheres remains a suggestive one, given Gellner's point. For to put the private into the public sphere is to confuse the cultural homogeneity that must be established for the nation to function as such and so Morgan persistently associates such transgressions with factionalism and "petty back-stair policy." Moreover, such transgressions are a sign of national failure: under the logic of sensibility, patriotic sentiment is the basis for moral action to serve the public good; to corrupt the public sphere with personal agendas is therefore an indication of the breakdown of patriotic sentiment. And this is the case in 1820s Ireland as Morgan represents it. In the present day, Morgan suggests, the reading public is corrupt: "Alas that the land of wit and feeling should furnish forth readers, even from its high and official classes, to reward and encourage the instruments of disgrace" (III: 164).

Just as the Irish exiles sanction Jonson's "Irish Masque," Irish readers in the early nineteenth century allow a periodical press in which the boundaries of proper public debate are disregarded. This failure of the Irish reading public however is merely symptomatic of a wider failure: in the next sentence, Morgan lists a series of abuses across a number of public institutions, from the press to the judiciary and the church.

In Morgan's account of Irish colonial history, the late eighteenth-century Irish periodical press is therefore a synecdoche for a self-regulating national culture, governed by its native aristocracy, that operated on the margins of colonial official culture. It created something akin to Habermas's liberal public sphere (a model that Morgan anticipates elsewhere in her writing), in which "The public sphere in the political realm evolved from the public sphere in the world of letters; through the vehicle of public opinion it put the state in touch with the needs of society."[35] But Morgan defines such a sphere on specifically national terms that work against British domination and the alienating effects of British culture. More to the point of the absentee question, Morgan represents the periodical press as a means through which the nation can constitute itself, on terms resonant with Gellner's argument, in spite of dispersive and alien colonial pressures. As a sentimental mechanism rooted in proper feeling and communal sympathies, it can help to forge a larger national self that is culturally coherent and economically productive rather than discordant and doomed to fail. That this cultural renovation has failed, moreover, reinforces her tacit claim that colonial pressure forces Irish history into an episodic structure rather than a progressive one. The Irish periodical press, like the Geraldine rebellion, flashes bright for a moment and then quickly fades.

But Morgan presents this argument in a British periodical. Klancher has noted that *New Monthly Magazine* contributors frequently rely on a strategy of demystifying signs so as to give the journal's middle-class readership privileged access to the reading of the text.[36] In Morgan's contributions to the *New Monthly Magazine*, this demystification is applied to British imperial history to suggest a very different interpretation of Irish problems to the increasingly important British middle class. While her best-known novel, *The Wild Irish Girl*, notoriously exoticized the Irish and contributed to the Irish antiquarian project in its survey of history, music, and language, Morgan's contributions to the *New Monthly Magazine*, and later the *Athenaeum*, consider Irish Lords Lieutenant and "Courts and Court Journals," and review such works as *Lectures on Colonies and Colonization and State Policy of the Emperor Napoleon*.

Her articles on "Absenteeism" not only rewrite imperial history, but also suggest that periodical writing, if it is directed towards the thorough examination of public concerns, can effect change through the quasi-official means exercised in late eighteenth-century Ireland to the improvement of nineteenth-century imperial Britain – and thus of Ireland. For the clearest implication of the first two parts in the series is that slight shifts in British government and policy have dramatic effects on Irish history and society, not only in the specific practices of the colonial dispensation, but also by arresting the nation's proper historical progress, as defined by whig historiography and nationalist ideology. Political turmoil in Ireland is thus resituated as an extension of British history that interrupts the course of Irish history: "whoever desires to study the intimate nature of the English government . . . must look to Ireland for the most demonstrative illustration," and so the Irish uprising of 1798 is "the most pregnant instance in British story of the misery of corruption."[37] Her essays thus situate Ireland, always seeking authenticity and renewal, within a repetitive and repressive British history of falsity and intransigence in which the periodical form is the best rhetorical vehicle to effect some small measure of positive change.

TALES OF DISINHERITANCE: COLONIAL SETTLERS AND DISPLACED FAMILIES IN 'MELMOTH THE WANDERER'

What Morgan does for Irish history, Maturin, in *Melmoth the Wanderer: A Tale*, does for European and Asian history. In *Melmoth the Wanderer*, Maturin draws on the gothic conventions of fragmentation and repetition to represent a colonial history that sweeps half of the globe: his narrative gaze follows the title character as he wanders from Cromwell's invasion of Ireland through seventeenth-century European incursions into India to early nineteenth-century Ireland, meandering through the imperial history of England and Spain during the Renaissance appropriation of territory and the Romantic-era expansion of trade and industry. As in Moore's *Memoirs of Captain Rock*, Renaissance and Romantic imperialism bear comparison: "There is no end to the resemblances between the two periods. The following passage is not more applicable to the English colonists of those days, than to the English capitalists of the present."[38] Like Morgan, Maturin attends to the staging of power and the mechanisms by which it transgresses the proper boundary between private and public. In one embedded tale after another in the novel, imperial aspirations and the institutions which support empire interfere

in affective social relations between parent and child, husband and wife, master and servant, and sibling and sibling. By rendering the domestic as the basis for national history, a complication of the Erin-as-woman motif discussed in Chapter 2, Maturin participates in the growing suspicion of sentiment while retaining its force. Feeling that is loosed of domestic control, as we saw in "The Anaconda," is too dangerous; feeling that is circumscribed by the privacy of the home is much less perilous to public order as well as securely protected from it. The domestic unit thus becomes the basis for, and the boundary of, proper feeling, and is only metaphorically tied to the national community. But this metaphorical connection between domestic and national communities becomes literal when the public sphere corrupts the private sphere. As Backus suggests, "Monçada's and Isidora's stories exemplify the series of confrontations between conflicting epistemologies that the novel repeatedly stages. These conflicts foreground the central role of historical representation and occlusion in the establishment and maintenance of the nuclear family, property rights, and state authority."[39] In Maturin's sweeping colonial history, gothically rendered, the domestic unit fails, in India and Ireland, because of institutional predation. Colonialism not only intervenes in national history, but also the genealogical lines of relationship and inheritance which, in Maturin's broadly conservative narrative, underpin that history.

The novel formally invokes these failures of linear transmission through the entwining of embedded tales that are often incomplete, either fractured by lacunæ and interruptions or simply left unfinished. As Kathleen Fowler puts it, "The narratives are related, one within the other, in an intricate structure usually described as nesting boxes, but which is, in fact, greatly unbalanced and asymmetrical."[40] In brief, the novel is a series of embedded tales. The story of John Melmoth, told by an omniscient narrator, frames the whole and is set "In the autumn of 1816."[41] The novel begins with John Melmoth journeying to visit his uncle's dilapidated Irish estate, the uncle's death, and his inheritance of that estate, leading to sightings of the Wanderer and his discovery of the various narratives that dominate the novel. The Irish estate is a colonial property: seized by Cromwell during his invasion of Ireland and given to a soldier, the Wanderer's brother, it is passed down from generation to generation, with the Wanderer appearing at the moment of each heir's death. John Melmoth is the auditor or reader of the three main texts which detail the Wanderer's activities: Stanton's manuscript (*MW*, 67–105), set in Renaissance England and continental Europe and found by Melmoth after his uncle's death;

Monçada's "Tale of the Spaniard" (*MW*, 121–691), set in 1790s Spain and recounted to Melmoth after Monçada is rescued from a shipwreck on the Irish coast near the Melmoth estate; and, embedded in Monçada's autobiography, Adonijah's manuscript, "The Tale of the Indians" (*MW*, 364–691), set again in the Renaissance but in India and Spain. Embedded in these three main texts are a number of shorter narratives, including a woman's tale of two thwarted lovers (*MW*, 72–80), "The Tale of Guzman's Family" (*MW*, 522–66), and "The Lovers' Tale" (*MW*, 579–650). Religious intolerance, as we might expect from a work published by a Church of Ireland curate shortly after Morgan's *The Missionary* and Moore's *Lalla Rookh*,[42] is a recurring theme in the novel and it too is handled from a variety of perspectives: Stanton's madhouse companion is a Protestant proselytizer with a genocidal streak; the Walberg family is economically distressed because, as Protestants in Catholic Spain, they are denied work and, ultimately, access to their inheritance from Guzman; "The Lovers' Tale" focuses on post-Reformation religious tensions in England; the disciplinary concerns of Spain's Catholic church determine the course of Monçada's life. That many of these embedded narratives involve the theme of inheritance and are sometimes themselves materially part of an inheritance reinforces the novel's concern with lines of transmission, as well as its dependence on an iterative patterning that is itself a challenge to notions of historical progress and the imperial expansion those notions underwrite. This iterative patterning is highlighted by Maturin's decision to give the protagonists of his frame narrative and his embedded narratives the same name, John Melmoth (for the sake of clarity, I will refer to the nineteenth-century heir as John Melmoth and his Renaissance ancestor as the Wanderer). Lew suggests that the double-names in the novel reflect "double nature[s]," but it is also arguable that this repetition of names in the Wanderer and his nineteenth-century relative establishes a continuity of natures: the university student is implicated in the colonial history that the Wanderer and his brother inaugurated.[43]

This continuity is established throughout the novel. Just as violence produces each generation of Rocks in Moore's *Memoirs*, so violence necessarily governs the redistribution of wealth at the end of the possessor's life in Maturin's *Melmoth*. This appears in a variety of the embedded narratives, but most compellingly in the Melmoth family legend that the Wanderer appears at the moment of each proprietor's death – the moment that the colonial property is passed onto another descendant of Cromwell's soldier. The Wanderer is thus first introduced

to John Melmoth through his ghostly appearance at the time of the uncle's death. But the Wanderer is more explicitly tied to the Melmoths' colonial inheritance when he is named in an informal codicil in the uncle's will. The will lists a variety of objects related to the Wanderer, including Stanton's manuscript and the portrait of the Wanderer, and other items related to the history of colonial predation in Ireland. During the reading of the legal document,

> the attorney . . . added, "There are some words here, at the corner of the parchment, which do not appear to be part of the will." . . . "I enjoin my nephew and heir, John Melmoth, to remove, destroy, or cause to be destroyed, the portrait inscribed J. Melmoth, 1646, hanging in my closet. I also enjoin him to search for a manuscript . . . in the third and lowest left-hand drawer of the mahogany chest standing under the portrait, – it is among some papers of no value, such as manuscript sermons, and pamphlets on the improvement of Ireland, and such stuff; he will distinguish it by its being tied round with black tape. . . . He may read it if he will; – I think he had better not. (*MW*, 58)

Maturin is typically careful with his details: the word "sinister" is derived from the Latin for "on the left hand," so his placement of the manuscript bound by "black tape" in the "lowest left-hand drawer" anticipates the contents of that manuscript, Stanton's tale of the Wanderer's misdeeds. The manuscript's existence is noted in the corner of the paper and the legal document, it is situated at the lowest edge of the desk which borders the portrait, encircled by a black ribbon, surrounded by "trivia" that foreshadow the manuscript's contents and contextualize them. Stanton's manuscript, the novel's first account of the Wanderer's activities, could not be more insistently pushed to the margins of public scrutiny – the codicil is not even part of the legal will. The ignored and unread "pamphlets on the improvement of Ireland" frame a manuscript which begins the series of tales presented to John Melmoth that are ostensibly about the Wanderer, but, as they focus on him, detail abuses of power, particularly acts of disinheritance, in colonized and imperial countries throughout the age of European imperial expansion. The abusers, like the uncle, ignore opportunities for "improvement" to grasp at chances to seize more wealth from those under their power. The imperial past is thus presented as something which, however much it is repressed – thrust into the "lowest left-hand drawer . . . among some papers of no value" – will always be passed onto the next generation as a supplement to the main line of inheritance.

At the end of the novel, in the dead of night, the Wanderer leaves the Melmoth estate and, like Lewis's protagonist in *The Monk* (1796), falls

from a cliff. But his corpse is not left to wait for a storm to carry it away like Lewis's failed religious exemplar. He leaves a different kind of trace. In the morning, John Melmoth and his companion, Monçada,

> discovered the traces of footsteps that appeared to be those of a person who had been walking in damp sand or clay. These traces were exceedingly plain – they followed them to a door that opened on the garden – that door was open also. They traced the footmarks distinctly through the narrow gravel walk, which was terminated by a broken fence, and opened on a heathy field which spread half-way up a rock whose summit overlooked the sea. The weather had been rainy, and they could trace the steps distinctly through that heathy field. They ascended the rock. . . . Through the furze that clothed this rock, almost to its summit, there was a kind of tract as if a person had dragged, or been dragged, his way through it – a down-trodden track, over which no footsteps but those of one impelled by force had ever passed. . . . On a crag beneath them, something hung as floating to the blast. . . . It was the handkerchief which the Wanderer had worn . . . that was the last trace of the Wanderer! (*MW*, 702–3)

Melmoth's wanderings end not at "home," but in his traceable removal from Ireland – from the house, through the garden, the fields, and the furze, to end at the edge of a cliff. The marks of his removal scar the landscape, and it is those scars that the new heir to the estate traces to discover the postscript of the Wanderer's biography – but the Wanderer himself is not to be found. Thus ends the education of Ireland's newest landowner. He is not educated on the niceties of estate management, as writers such as the Edgeworths would wish, but on the history attached to the land he now owns, a history traced from the codicil of his uncle's will that ineffectively tries to encourage forgetting and neglect to the marks of death on the cliff.

The conqueror who haunts the Melmoths serves as an insistent reminder of the disinheritance and misinheritance at the imperialist origin of their decaying family fortunes, and the focal point of a series of narratives that explore various aspects of such interventions. Like "The Anaconda" and so much gothic of the period, as Hogle's work suggests, the novel deals with concerns over the ungrounded circulation of wealth that is enabled by the capitalist move.[44] The only point to which the Wanderer returns repeatedly, the moment in which lies his home, is the instant in which the confiscated estate is inherited by the next generation of colonists – that moment defines him, just as it defines his brother's descendants, and echoes their strained relationship with the land and its disinherited people, and echoes in turn the Wanderer's tales of persecuted religious minorities, tyrannical public

institutions, and fractured families. The embedded narratives of the tale produce a repetition that tacitly connects myriad histories of oppression and moments of brutality. For within the coherent frame of a likeable heir who inherits an estate from a parsimonious uncle lies a series of inherited narratives of predation that are emphatically *elsewhere* – Spain, England, India. Ireland is thus not exemplary as a colony but symptomatic of an imperial project that reaches across space and time.

In the preamble that introduces "The Tale of the Indians," Maturin begins with a narrow temporal focus by establishing a clear connection between 1790s Ireland and 1790s Spain, and then proceeds to reveal beneath the surface of 1790s Spain the histories of Jews hiding from the Inquisition within Spain, and within that history an archive that includes "The Tale of the Indians," about a woman in Renaissance Spain who grew up in India but died in the Inquisition's dungeons. Renaissance Spain and India meet 1790s Spain, 1790s Spain meets 1790s Ireland, and the Wanderer meanders through them all. These points of contact are not only broadly drawn in narratives with similar thematic concerns, but also in precise details. For instance, in Chapter XII, Monçada watches an Inquisition procession organized to "implore the saints to be more personally active in the event of a future conflagration" "about the close of the last century. It was on the night of 29th November 17–" (*MW*, 339, 326). In the procession walks the monk who had, under the guise of helping Monçada to escape the monastery, killed Monçada's brother and taken Monçada to the dungeons of the Inquisition. Guilty of various murders, including sororicide, and publicly known as a parricide, the monk sparks outrage when he participates in the Inquisition's procession: "I heard voices among the crowd repeat, in audible sounds, What is this for? Why do they ask why the Inquisition has been half-burned? – why the virgin has withdrawn her protection? – why the saints turn away their faces from us? – when a parricide marches among the officials of the Inquisition. Are the hands that have cut a father's throat fit to support the banner of the cross?" (*MW*, 341). The crowd turns on him and, in footnotes to the description of the assault, Maturin makes two explicit references to Irish revolt. After the parricide is murdered by the mob, his body is trampled underfoot by soldiers' horses: "The officer who headed the troop dashed his horse's hoofs into a bloody formless mass, and demanded, 'Where was the victim?' He was answered, 'Beneath your horse's feet,' and they departed" (*MW*, 344). Maturin's footnote to this passage reads, "This circumstance occurred in Ireland 1797, after the murder of the unfortunate Dr Hamilton. The officer was answered, on inquiring what was the heap

of mud at his horse's feet, – 'The man you came for' " (*MW*, 344*n*). Maturin thus links the parricide – arguably the most brutal figure in this novel of terror – to an author of anti-nationalist tracts. William Hamilton (1755–1797) was the author of at least two works "supporting the Government and established order against nationalist and Catholic feeling. As a magistrate and Church of Ireland Rector he had much power in Donegal and in the eyes of his Catholic neighbours he abused it. In 1797 he was killed by 'banditti' in the house of a friend."[45]

Maturin then loops the incident back again to Ireland by describing Monçada's feelings in watching the murder as similar to those of a shoemaker who had watched the death of Lord Kilwarden, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, during the Emmet uprising of 1803:

> In the year 1803, when Emmett's insurrection broke out in Dublin – (*the fact* from which this account was drawn was related to me by an eye-witness) – Lord Kilwarden, in passing through Thomas Street, was dragged from his carriage and murdered in the most horrid manner. Pike after pike was thrust through his body, till at last he was *nailed to a door*, and called out to his murderers to "put him out of his pain." At this moment, a shoemaker, who lodged in the garrett of an opposite house, was drawn to the window, gasping with horror, his wife attempting vainly to drag him away. He saw the last blow struck – he heard the last grown uttered, as the sufferer cried, "put me out of pain," while sixty pikes were thrusting at him. The man stood at his window as if nailed to it; and when dragged from it, became – *an idiot for life*. (*MW*, 345*n*)

It would be easy to see this as Maturin aligning Catholics with outrageous and brutal violence, juxtaposing the Spanish Catholics' attack on the monk with the Irish Catholics' attack on the "unfortunate Dr Hamilton" and the Saint-Sebastian-like killing of Kilwarden. But in painting the only mob violence of the novel Maturin draws not on anti-Catholic gothic precedents (such as the attack on the nuns in Lewis's *The Monk*) nor even the many narratives of mob violence after the French Revolution, but on recent Irish history, and explicitly so. He thus doubly situates this framing narrative for "The Tale of the Indians" in relation to Romantic-era Ireland: imperial Spain is like colonized Ireland, as narrated by a Spanish aristocrat to an Irish landholder, and never more overtly so than at this moment in which a peaceful crowd erupts into brutal violence.

But there is a further complication. In tracing the connections between Catholic mobs in the two nations, Maturin pairs the parricide with two targets of patriotic outrage (suggestively recalling the shared association of the two terms "parricide" and "patriot" with the Latin root, *pater*): the parricide who escaped justice by taking sanctuary in the church is tacitly

compared to two judges who held up the authority of colonial rule, and the morally outraged Spanish mob is tacitly allied with the Irish nationalist mob. It is in moments such as these that Maturin makes colonial history a pattern of repetitions in which the peril spreads outwards through the process of simile: the parricide is like Hamilton, Monçada is like the shoemaker who becomes like Kilwarden through sympathy (the shoemaker being figuratively fixed in the same manner that Kilwarden was literally fixed), and the Catholic mob in Ireland is like the Catholic mob in Spain. And, as in Moore's and Morgan's orientalist tales, the footnote makes the leap from extraordinary fiction to all-too-mundane fact. Like Morgan's footnote in *The Missionary* to insurrections, including Vellore, that responded to "religious bigotry" (241*n*), Maturin's note links fictional revolt to contemporary events that are separated from the fiction by time or space: Morgan connects an insurrection set in the Renaissance to events in 1806, while Maturin associates mob violence set in Spain with recent events in Ireland. Maturin's rare footnotes root the gothic tale in Irish reality, supporting Moynahan's and Leerssen's points that Ireland is a gothic setting *par excellence*.[46] The pages which lead to the introduction of "The Tale of the Indians" are thus complex in their staging of global relations, as images of social fragmentation and conflict echo through an otherwise disjunctive narrative.

This fragmentation not only divides different groups, but also fosters a fundamental inauthenticity in the subject. Gibbons has suggested that the colonial situation requires a "recourse to figuration," as tropes provide a code by which Irish subjects can evade colonial discipline and even become "part of consciousness itself" through regular use.[47] In his representation of 1790s Spain, Maturin relies heavily on such a fissure within the subject – a fissure antithetical to the harmony between culture and national character envisioned by Morgan in "Absenteeism." In *Melmoth the Wanderer*, Chapter XII opens with an epigraph taken from James Shirley's play, *St. Patrick for Ireland*: "Juravi lingua, mentem injuratam gero. – [I swore with my tongue, but I keep my mind unsworn] / Who brought you first acquainted with the devil?" (*MW*, 331, 712*n*).[48] This epigraph anticipates and foregrounds the chapter's emphasis on "passing," on characters who appear publicly to be "racially" what they are not privately: the parricide who killed Monçada's brother enjoys religious sanctuary and wears religious robes as if he is a man of God and Monçada, escaping the dungeons of the Inquisition during a fire, finds himself in a home of Jews passing for Christian out of fear of persecution. Monçada is at first outraged by the

Jews' deception and threatens to call the Inquisition, but ends up stifling his anti-Semitic remarks while still, he makes clear in the tale's telling, thinking them ("I swore with my tongue, but I keep my mind unsworn"). In a hidden room in the house, Monçada is given the task of copying Adonijah's manuscript, "The Tale of the Indians": as he tells John Melmoth, "You will perhaps smile, Sir; but even in my wretched situation, I felt a slight but painful flush tinge my cheek, at the thought of a Christian, and a peer of Spain, becoming the amanuensis of a Jew for hire" (*MW*, 359). The manuscript is written in Spanish but "in *the Greek characters* – a mode of writing that . . . must have been as unintelligible to the officers of the Inquisition as the Hieroglyphics of the Egyptian priests" (*MW*, 362). In the pages which lead up to "The Tale of the Indians," then, duplicity ensures survival – of Adonijah, Solomon, and their families, of Monçada, of the parricide (for a time), and of the manuscript itself, written in one language with the letters of another, cutting across the temporalities of classical Greece, Renaissance India, and the oppression of the Jewish people in eighteenth-century Europe.

Maturin's handling of the subject forced into the doubleness required by relentless concealment not only echoes Gibbons' account of the Irish colonial subject's "recourse to figuration" but also bears comparison to Morgan's account in "Absenteeism" of the traces which survive under a colonial pressure "enough to crush any nation on earth" (III: 166). A manuscript hidden in a lower desk drawer, a painting hidden in a closet, "The Tale of the Indians" concealed in a hidden room by a family with a hidden faith and transcribed by a man who must even hide from his own family – *Melmoth the Wanderer* is in many senses an account of concealed traces which survive political oppression only to erupt periodically into the surface of narrative. On the one hand, their always-partial appearance denies the romance of successful revolution; the hidden tale is not pieced together, as it is in Walpole's *Castle of Otranto*, to seal the doom of illegitimate rulers. On the other, even partial survival is an accomplishment given the array of forces which seek to fully repress them.

"THE TALE OF THE INDIANS": PROLIFERATING SIMILES AND ENTANGLED HISTORIES

This doubleness is extended in "The Tale of the Indians," a tale which nominally focuses on Immalee, a Spanish castaway who grows up alone on an Indian island until the Wanderer begins to visit her in 1680 (*MW*, 376).

The date is worthy of remark. Maturin rarely provides dates (note the use of "17—" for the fire at the Inquisition) and 1680 is the year of the Pueblo Revolt in which the Pueblo Indians of modern-day New Mexico wrested rule away from the Spanish, doubly echoing the national affiliations of a tale in which Immalee is Spanish by birth and "Indian" by nominalization in the narrative. Maturin opens "The Tale of the Indians," uncharacteristically and tellingly, with a long historical view. He traces the fortunes of the island on which Immalee has been shipwrecked, setting religious institutions and nature on a collision course. Almost recalling the biblical book of Genesis in its temporal reach and comprehensive account of epochal shifts, Maturin offers the island as a synecdoche for human history in which the natural competes with the social, and the vegetable with the architectural, in struggle after struggle. A temple on the island is first destroyed by an earthquake and then by lightning during a typhoon. Nature resurrects its authority: "There were the disjointed piles of stones carved into the forms of snakes, on which the hideous idol of Seeva had once been seated; and close to them the rose was bursting through the earth which occupied the fissures of the rock, as if nature preached a milder theology, and deputed her darling flower as her missionary to her children" (*MW*, 370). Its human population destroyed, it becomes an object of fear to those in the surrounding region and is left untouched until Immalee's arrival after a shipwreck. Worship is renewed, but is diverse: she is variously interpreted by the local peoples according to their particular faiths. The fishermen call her "an incarnated emanation of Vishnu" (*MW*, 365), the "old devotees," "invoking her, stuck close to the bloody rites of Seeva and Haree" (*MW*, 366), the "young women" "ma[de] vows to Camdeo," represented in orientalist scholarship as the Indian cupid, and the "young men also, at least those who were in love and fond of music, rowed close to the island to solicit the god Krishnoo" and offered music and wax figures to Immalee (*MW*, 366). The island is thus thrown from epochal change to an uneven fragmented history in which the old mixes with the new and meaning is unstable. These stories of worship highlight the ways in which Immalee, like the Wanderer, is polysemic in her significations. The Wanderer is sometimes called the "Traveller" and is alternately identified as English and Irish, while she is frequently called "the Indian" and is renamed "Isidora" after her return to her family in Spain.

Key aspects of "The Tale of the Indians" stress intimate relationships and the denial of the child's emotional needs in a modern world. The passages in which Melmoth and Immalee meet are, like Morgan's *The*

Missionary, drenched with allusions to Milton's *Paradise Lost*, with Immalee as the still-innocent Eve and Melmoth the Wanderer as her tempter. As Joseph Lew has argued, moreover, this narrative of temptation draws on a "cultural-imperialist discourse of seduction" in which the colonizer corrupts the colonized.[49] She is gradually introduced to loss, desire, and darkness, in a version of the Fall that again relies much on the discourse of what Pratt terms the "contact zone": Melmoth tells her about the world and its evils, making her both desire it (and him), as well as feel the limitations of her "primitive" existence. Thrown into the patriarchal and religiously dogmatic world of Renaissance Spain, she is both confused and uncomfortable – and still idealizes the Wanderer who visited her on her solitary island. Her father is absent and defers his return, even after being warned by the Wanderer himself that Immalee is in mortal peril, because of mercantile interests. She marries the Wanderer in a dark, gothically rendered rite with echoes of Moore's *Lalla Rookh*, and ends up in the dungeons of the Inquisition with their child; they both die there, with Immalee, in her final words, looking forward to meeting the Wanderer again in "paradise" (*MW*, 691). Although its plot generally resembles the conventional cautionary tale of the seduced innocent who dies with her illegitimate child, "The Tale of the Indians" persistently invokes the discourse of sensibility to value social bonds and affect rather than a moral code of chastity and obedience. For example, the Wanderer tells Immalee in an early lecture on the evils of the modern world,

> They do not, like you, Immalee, live in the lovely independence of nature – lying on the grass, and sleeping with all the eyes of heaven unveiled to watch you . . . and conversing with flowers, till you feel yourself and them children of the united family of nature, whose mutual language of love you have almost learned to speak to each other – no, to effect their purpose, their food, which is of itself poison, must be rendered more fatal by the air they inhale; and therefore the more civilized crowd all together into a space which their own respiration, and the exhalation of their bodies, renders pestilential. (*MW*, 402)

When the Wanderer teaches Immalee about the world, he does so on the terms of Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*: arousing her sympathy and, simultaneously, generating a desire for social contact. Immalee dies less because she is the consort of a demon than because her father protected his economic interests rather than his family – circumstances which, in the first place, led to Immalee's separation from her family. Immalee, Spanish-born but raised as a "child of nature" on an Indian island, remains fundamentally innocent and, crucially for Maturin,

affectionate – pleading for her child, asking about her parents' well-being, and still loving the Wanderer even though she would not give up her soul for him (*MW*, 690–1).

While the structure of the novel disrupts the form of the colonial romance discussed by Suleri by drawing excessively on the gothic mode's tendency towards narrative proliferation and fragmentation, it simultaneously privileges the romance in the form of the sentimental: the guiding tone of the novel insists Monçada's parents should relent and release him from the monastery, Immalee's father should protect his daughter rather than his property, and the Inquisition should respond to Immalee's maternal devotion and recognize her innocence. The sentimental in Maturin's narrative is cast out, cast aside, and cast away, and with it the social as well as narrative unities the sentimental seeks to enable; the sentimental operates negatively in the novel, marking failures rather than (as in conventional sentimental literature) offering exemplars and lessons. This casting away of the sentimental (and finally casting down in the dungeons of the Inquisition) does not invoke the abject on Kristevan terms.[50] It is instead part of a sustained and ultimately conservative critique of the devaluation of feeling in favour of capital. As the Wanderer says when chastizing Immalee's father for failing to protect her, "Wretched old man – you were warned – but you neglected the warning – I adjured you to save your daughter – *I best* knew her danger – you saved your gold – now estimate the value of the dross you grasped, and the precious ore you dropt!" (*MW*, 676). In this regard, Maturin's novel is part of a strand of Romantic discourse which critiques established modes of conduct – mercantilism, politeness, codes of sexual behaviour – as incapable of managing or acknowledging feeling. In this body of discourse, slavery is wrong because it tears children away from their mothers and wives from their husbands; politeness produces an artificial distance between parents and children; and sexual mores dangerously repress desire and so make happiness nearly impossible.[51] In *Melmoth the Wanderer*, however, this casting away of the sentimental figure of the innocent daughter is echoed by related moves throughout the novel in which conventional objects of sentimental attachment are somehow physically contained and concealed in order to maintain social position: a son is forced into a monastery, signs of Jewishness are placed in a hidden room, and pamphlets on the improvement of Ireland are put in the lower drawer of a desk.

"The Tale of the Indians," then, traces Immalee's fall not into corruption, but into a fallen world in which mercantilism, religious

persecution, and cold politeness even among family members make it impossible for her to live. Seafield in Lewis's "The Anaconda" is similarly vulnerable because of his keen sensibility, but Seafield is at odds with the colonial space and Immalee with the metropole. Maturin constructs "the East" not as a place of duplicitous natives and dangerous monsters creeping through the jungle, as Lewis insistently does, but as a place of natural beauty marred by human predators of various religious and national backgrounds. The doubleness of India is made explicit as Immalee and the Wanderer look out onto the same scene:

The ocean, that lay calm and bright before them as a sea of jasper, never reflected two more different countenances, or sent more opposite feelings to two hearts. Over Immalee's, it breathed that deep and delicious reverie, which those forms of nature that unite tranquillity and profundity diffuse over souls whose innocence gives them a right to an unmingled and exclusive enjoyment of nature. None but crimeless and unimpassioned minds ever truly enjoyed earth, ocean and heaven. At our first transgression, nature expels us, as it did our first parents, from her paradise for ever.

To the stranger the view was fraught with far different visions. He viewed it as a tiger views a forest abounding with prey. . . . He could watch the vessels as they floated by, and, from the skiff to the huge trader, be sure that every one bore its freight of woe and crime. There came on the European vessels full of the passions and crimes of another world, – of its sateless cupidity, remorseless cruelty, its intelligence, all awake and ministrant in the cause of its evil passions. . . . He saw them approach to traffic for "gold, and silver, and the souls of men;" – to grasp, with breathless rapacity, the gems and precious produce of those luxuriant climates, and deny the inhabitants the rice that supported their inoffensive existence; – to discharge the load of their crimes, their lust and their avarice, and after ravaging the land, and plundering the natives, depart, leaving behind them famine, despair and execration. (*MW*, 399–400)

The detours caused by a flawed governing structure shape not only individuals' affective relationships to other family members, but even guide their response to the world before them: one sees "those forms of nature that unite tranquility and profundity" and the other sees "sateless cupidity, remorseless cruelty"; or, more succinctly, one sees harmony and beauty, and the other sees conflict and pain. This passage echoes the first part of the Irish framing narrative in which the parsimonious uncle "saw himself . . . surrounded by heartless and rapacious menials" (*MW*, 52), even though his housekeeper, immediately after a stream of verbal abuse from her employer, has shown humane concern by asking, "though a Catholic" herself, if he would like a "clergyman to give him *the rights*, (rites) of his church" (*MW*, 51).

While the scenes in Ireland and India are put under the question mark of subjective perception, the island itself remains an exotic space, and not merely in the superficial luxuriance of its foliage and distant setting (from the perspective of Maturin's first readers). It is exotic, too, in the more literal sense that it is "outside" temporality – it has run the course of history and is no longer touched by it. Maturin reinforces the island's location outside of the global scene of conquest when the Wanderer and Immalee refer to the space beyond her island in exotic terms; it is "the world that suffers" (*MW*, 382), "the world that thinks" (*MW*, 388), and, crucially, "the world that thinks [but] does not feel" (*MW*, 391). Immalee must be removed for her to come into contact with the fallen world; it cannot be brought to an island that has seen the "eternal triumph of nature amid the ruins of art" (*MW*, 371). Having passed through the epochs of civilization, from the first temple, to catastrophe, to a second temple, to catastrophe, to complete depopulation, the island passes from "ruins" to the "eternal," from temporality to atemporality. Without interference, it finally achieves progress: "The Island, thus left to itself, became vigorously luxuriant, as some neglected children improve in health and strength, while pampered darlings die under excessive nurture. Flowers bloomed, and foliage thickened, without a hand to pluck, a step to trace, or a lip to taste them" (*MW*, 365) and the island, in part because of Immalee's strange beauty and innocence, becomes a place of worship for lovers. Instead of "the bloody homage" of the first temple (*MW*, 364), the new worshippers' "gestures were so expressive of reverence and mildness . . . and their visits so silent and peaceful" that they do not even startle the isolated Immalee (*MW*, 374). Maturin is far from positive about Indians in this quite racist section of the novel. The worship at the island begins when Immalee is mistaken for a goddess because of "the extraordinary colour of her skin and hair" (*MW*, 372) and Immalee perceives the worshippers as "creatures so dark, and with features so unattractive" that they are, to her, discordant with the natural world on her island (*MW*, 374). That a woman innocent of sex, society, and all but an elemental religion (she remembers only that God made her [*MW*, 376–7]) has an unproblematized racist aesthetics puts a clear limit on how far Maturin's text encourages international sympathy. But Maturin also represents the island as protected from European contact: "The crews of European vessels, assured by natives that there was neither animal, or vegetable, or water, to be found on its surface, forbore to visit" (*MW*, 365). While no human being in the novel escapes the "world that suffers," the island itself, of no interest to European traders,

ultimately breaks free of that world. The expulsion of the Wanderer from Ireland at the close of the novel suggests that Ireland, too, can rid itself, even if only a body at a time, of contact with the "world that suffers" and its repetitive temporality.

The Wanderer is not cast out of Ireland by earthquake, typhoon, or lightning – the natural forces which destroy repressive public institutions on Immalee's island (*MW*, 364–5). While Monçada and Melmoth trace his journey from the house to the cliff, the narrative (as in the double vision of India) offers another view. In "The Wanderer's Dream," it is eternity that propels the Wanderer from the cliff and human history, just as it is eternity on the Indian island that triumphs over artifice:

> He stood, in his dream, tottering on a crag midway down the precipice. . . . [H]e could distinguish a gigantic outstretched arm, that held him as in sport on the ridge of that infernal precipice, while another, that seemed in its motions to hold fearful and invisible conjunction with the arm that grasped him, as if both belonged to some being too vast and horrible even for the imagery of a dream to shape, pointed upwards to a dial plate fixed on the top of that precipice. . . . He saw the mysterious single hand revolve – he saw it reach the appointed period of 150 years . . . – he shrieked in his dream, and, with that strong impulse often felt in sleep, burst from the arm that held him, to arrest the motion of the hand. In the effort he fell, and falling grasped at aught that might save him. . . . Suddenly a groupe of figures appeared, ascending as he fell. He grasped at them successfully; – first Stanton – then Walberg – Elinor Mortimer –Isidora – Monçada – all passed him. . . . His last despairing reverted glance was fixed on the clock of eternity – the upraised black arm seemed to push forward the hand – it arrived at its period – he fell – he sunk – he blazed – he shrieked! The burning waves boomed over his sinking head, and the clock of eternity rung out its awful chime – "Room for the soul of the Wanderer!" (*MW*, 698–9)

"[T]he clock of eternity," not the hand of God or the forces of nature, chimes his doom and, mixing with his bodily reality ("that strong impulse often felt in sleep"), causes him to propel himself from the cliff. The period of 150 years is also suggestive, locating within the worst decades of colonial rule the Wanderer's work of pressuring characters to such an extremity that they might exchange places with him. Maturin's hints and historical allusions point consistently to the Wanderer's conversion taking place around 1646 and no later than 1653. 1646 is the date on the painting that the Wanderer significantly gives his brother (*MW*, 64); 1653 marks the final stages of Cromwellian settlement, as the Acts of Settlement (1652–1653) allowed the English, as Foster notes, "to make sure enough land was confiscated to meet such obligations," that is, to compensate soldiers, like the Wanderer's brother, with land

"in lieu of pay."[52] The Wanderer's dream locates the Wanderer's temptations simultaneously within the period of Cromwellian resettlement and the development of the Penal Statutes, and within a larger narrative that is governed not by human lives but by a "mystic" history of much wider scope – "for in this mystic plate centuries were marked, not hours" (*MW*, 698). Telescoping historical time to the grand scale that opens "The Tale of the Indians," Maturin represents the Wanderer's temptations as a stage in Irish history. There is no promise of romance, however; the Wanderer survives in the new heir's memory of the tales he has heard. As in Morgan's account of Irish history, epochs can pass but still survive into the next era in a new form as the same sins are played out once again. The Irish estate remains in Melmoth hands.

"THIS DISTRACTED LAND": MACCARTHY'S "AFGHANISTAN"

Though now neglected, Denis Florence MacCarthy was an important member of a literary-political circle that wrote frequently for *The Nation* and became known as the Young Ireland movement. Other members of the circle cited in the present study include Thomas Davis, James Clarence Mangan, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, and Lady Jane Wilde, but it was MacCarthy who was viewed as the heir of Moore as national poet. In his poem "Afghanistan," MacCarthy draws on a temporal model similar to Maturin's: Afghanistan, like Immalee's island, is naturally Edenic but caught temporally in a cycle of violence from which it cannot escape; moreover, as in Immalee's vision of India, access to a natural and benign harmony is always possible if rarely achieved; and, as in the Wanderer's narrative, temporality is stretched beyond the individual life or European modernity.[53] Afghanistan was little-known to Europeans in the early nineteenth century but it rapidly became central in the British imperial imaginary through a happenstance of geography. As Russia and Britain simultaneously pursued imperial expansion in the region, Afghanistan became the almost inevitable meeting point. The First Anglo-Afghan War in 1839–1842 concluded with the utter annihilation of the British invasion force and the legend of the Khyber Pass began. MacCarthy's "Afghanistan," dated 1842 and published in 1850, situates the British invasion of Afghanistan at the end of a long history which begins with the now-conventional representation of the mountain chains along the northern frontier of the Indian sub-continent as concealing Edenic refuges. In broad terms, MacCarthy's is a generative early account in English of the geopolitical importance of Afghanistan in the region,

anticipating Afghanistan's recurring role as a battleground for the superpowers of the day – "From Alexander down to Tamarlane" (134), and from Victorian-era Britain and Russia down to the Soviet Union in the 1970s and, most recently, the post-9/11 War on Terror. Afghanistan also enters the British imperial imaginary as, having secured most of India, the British began to militarily engage other regions of the "East": the first opium war with China occupied the British at the same time as the first Anglo-Afghan War, 1839–1842, and led to the annexation of Hong Kong and other territories; conflicts with Burma are scattered across six decades, from the 1820s to the 1880s; and, in the first half of the nineteenth century, expansion took place in neighbouring Australasia, as Australia was brought further under English domination and territories such as New Zealand were added to the list of British imperial possessions.

Formally, MacCarthy's poem is very much rooted in the nineteenth century, and the poet's work as a whole is heavily indebted to the British Romantic poets, especially the Lake Poets and P. B. Shelley. MacCarthy's "Afghanistan" draws on both the travelogue's encyclopedic gaze and the Western representation of the region as Edenic (the same tradition on which Morgan and Moore draw in their representation of nearby Kashmir), as well as the Romantic juxtaposition between restorative nature and violent culture via the topographical tradition rather than the gothic tradition on which Maturin relies. In MacCarthy's poem, Afghanistan is "Of all the lovely lands to Nature dear" (35) and a "bright retreat" (42) "Where all the earth was strewed with gem-like flowers" (49):

> If ever land were made to be the seat
> Of happy homes, and pleasure's calm retreat,
> 'Twere surely this. Here Peace should have its birth,
> High on the topmost regions of the Earth,
> Far, far removed from tumult and from strife,
> And all the crimson crimes of human life.
> These mountain Tempes – smiling, verdant, gay –
> Shining like emeralds o'er the Himalay,
> Should not, in faintest echoes, even repeat
> The murderous din that thunders at their feet.
> But ah! how different the truth has been:
> This sunny land is discord's favourite scene,
> Made, by both foreign and domestic crime,
> One field of ruin since the birth of Time. (117–30)

This passage resonates with similar transitional moments in Samuel Taylor Coleridge's "Fears in Solitude," where the "green and silent spot,"

the "silent dell" in England's own mountainous Lake District, is threatened by its antithesis:

> It weighs upon his heart, that he must think
> What uproar and what strife may now be stirring
> This way or that way o'er these silent hills –
> Invasion, and the thunder and the shout,
> And all the crash of onset; fear and rage,
> And undetermined conflict.[54]

Like Coleridge, MacCarthy turns from the natural beauty of the scene to the violence that threatens its quietness – a violence that is grasped by the fearsome terms "invasion" in Coleridge's poem and "conquest" in MacCarthy's.

Moreover, MacCarthy uses various images and tropes connected to writing to evoke gothic fragmentation as the governing form of imperial history in direct opposition to the ineffable harmonies of nature which precede that history and the "birth of Time." In other words, in MacCarthy's poem, there are not competing historiographies – smooth, progressive, and coherent, versus disjunctive, stagnated, and uncertain – but, as in Maturin's "Tale of the Indians," a natural harmony outside of history and a violent series of repetitions within history. If "the fiction of nineteenth-century Anglo-India seeks to decode the colonized territory through the conventions of romance, reorganizing the materiality of colonialism into a narrative of perpetual longing and perpetual loss,"[55] as Suleri suggests, then MacCarthy neatly complies with convention by dividing his poem into two halves: first the more desirable "Oriental lore" (44) and Edenic nature of "the land of beauty and romance" (60), and then the tragic "field of ruin since the birth of Time" (130) in which violence and loss hold sway. But MacCarthy handles the convention in complex ways. Oriental literature, for instance, is identified with the European past on terms that fulfil the imperialist desire to identify the colonial present with the narrative past of the "primitive." Thus, in "The magic page of Oriental lore," "Bagdad [*sic*] rivalled Rome's imperial name, / And Cæsar dwindled in Alraschid's fame" (44, 53–4). But the very attractiveness of the "magic page" inserts "Oriental lore" into the near-present for MacCarthy's readers. Oriental literature is identified not with barbarism, but with the vivacity and imaginativeness of youth: "Who has not felt his boyish bosom beat / When Fancy half revealed this bright retreat? – . . . This is the land – 'twas here our fancy strayed, / Here are the valleys where in dreams we played" (41–2, 51–2).

The more mature (Western) reader, no longer "boyish," turns to the natural beauties of the region:

> Though now we view the land with calmer glance,
> Still 'tis the land of beauty and romance:
> A mingled maze of sunshine and of snows,
> Rocks for the pine, and valleys for the rose.
> Thunder in its torrents, music in its rills,
> Lambs on its plains, and lions on its hills
> A neutral land, where every flower is known
> That loves the torrid or the temperate zone. (59–66)

There are, of course, echoes of Wordsworth's "Tintern Abbey" here, as the boyish gaze is supplanted by, yet still continuous with, the more mature, "calm" perspective. Afghanistan is the site of a topographical harmony so powerful that it can reconcile opposites, "a neutral land" marked by diversity as well as (like Immalee's island) plenitude. The one exception to a history of violence – "Let one be singled from the gory crowd, / Of whom his sect and nation may be proud" (169–70) – is the Emperor Baber who, like the flora of Afghanistan, reconciles opposites. In a footnote on Baber, MacCarthy quotes, " 'We delight to see him describe his success in rearing a new plant, in introducing a new fruit-tree, or in repairing a decayed aqueduct, with the same pride and complacency that he relates the most splendid victories.' . . . 'In activity of mind, in the gay equanimity and unbroken spirit with which he bore the extremes of good or bad fortune . . .' " (64*n*).

MacCarthy also complicates the religious othering of the East by identifying Afghanistan with references common to both Islam and Judeo-Christian belief. The evocation of the lion and the lamb (64), quoted above, echoes Isaiah 11.6, for instance. MacCarthy also introduces a variant on the fall of Lucifer:

> Oh! If 'twere true, as Eastern fables tell,
> That 'mid these groves the first-arch rebel fell,
> When the last seraph, hurled from on high,
> Flashed like a burning star along the flaming sky . . .
> He must have thought – so fair each vale and hill –
> His fall a dream, and Heaven around him still! (109–12, 115–6)

Afghanistan is not only like Heaven, but like Eden as well: "The silvery plantain rises on our view, / The same as when in Eden's bowers it grew" (81–2). The familiarity of the region to Western eyes extends from these biblical references to the recognizability of the flora: "Through every vale,

where'er we chance to roam, / Crowd the sweet sights that glad our eyes at home" (99–100). The site of popular "Oriental lore," familiar plants, and biblical events, Afghanistan may be the exotic object of Western desire but it is not mysterious or, in Suleri's words, "beyond the pale of representation."[56] In this aspect of the text, MacCarthy does more than repeat the common association of this region of the globe with Eden and render Afghanistan a "land of beauty and romance"; MacCarthy embeds Afghanistan in Western culture, and vice versa, and so paves the way for the second half of the poem in which Afghanistan is embedded in global history – a history that, as in Maturin's and Morgan's texts, repeats scenes of violence.

In the second half of the poem, MacCarthy focuses on the relentless repetition of violence in history: "Those vulgar victors . . . Whose conquests form, in every clime and age, / The blood-red rubric of the historic page. . . . Alas! that England should conclude the page / That bears the spoilers' names of every age" (137, 139–40, 191–2). At this point, MacCarthy turns from the repetition of imperial violence "From Alexander down to Tamarlane" (134) to the repetitiveness of English behaviour:

> Must England ever play this selfish game?
> Must England's fears obscure even England's fame?
> Must England's policy in every land,
> So coldly great, so miserably grand,
> Like Bamean's monstrous deity be known, –
> Vast, yet deformed – a god, and yet a stone?[57] (203–8)

The British Empire is thus inserted into a narrative of "oriental" despotism across two millennia. Like Maturin's India, Afghanistan is the naturally Edenic site corrupted by imperial brutality – and there is nothing progressive about it. England "conclude[s] the page," as merely the latest example of "vulgar victors" (recalling Morgan's dismissive term "quota of illustration" for the "history of the Castle of Dublin"). These "victors" are "vulgar" precisely because they have no regard for the natural and cultural beauties of Afghanistan:

> What though her [England's] bullets scared the peaceful bee
> From the red blossoms of the argwhan tree;
> What though her arms in dreadful vengeance rang
> Through the fair city where Ferdusi sang,
> And every dome, and every glistening spire,
> Fell in the flames of her avenging fire;

> What though she bore, as trophies of its doom,
> Those gates of sandal-wood from Mahmoud's tomb,
> Perhaps once more in Indian groves to shine,
> The dazzling portals of some idol's shrine. (211–20)

MacCarthy's endnote expands on the reference to the "gates of sandal-wood": "The sandal-wood gates at the shrine of Emperor Mahmoud were brought, 800 years ago, from Sommat in India, where Mahmoud smote the idol, and the precious stones fell from his body. . . . In the capture and destruction of Ghuzni in 1842, these celebrated gates were carried off in triumph by the British forces" (64*n*). MacCarthy's lines of verse and footnote align the military arm of British India with Hindu polytheism as "idolatry" while Afghanistan remains the innocent defender of a monotheism derived from the Old Testament. This passage as a whole, then, represents England as desecrating the natural ("the peaceful bee" and "red blossoms"), the cultural ("where Ferdusi," an important tenth-century Persian poet, "sang"), and the religious (the gates taken from an "idol's shrine" to mark the tomb of a devout Muslim).

In the closing lines of the poem, MacCarthy circles back to the biblical allusions of his earlier lines, as well as problematically invokes the Crusades, but he also returns to this image of the "peaceful bee":

> Oh, may we learn experience from the past,
> And peace and love possess the world at last.
> Instead of frowning forts, let altars rise,
> To bless the nations under distant skies;
> O'er towering hills and vales of purple moss,
> Let peaceful armies bear the saving cross!
> And let those fleets that made the whole world weep,
> With useful arts go bounding o'er the deep,
> To every clime and every ocean isle,
> Like to those fragrant navies of the Nile,
> Which bear the bee and its ambrosial store,
> A blessing and a joy to every peaceful shore. (225–36)

England is asked to distribute what it has destroyed in Afghanistan, as peaceful missionaries who disseminate the "useful arts," albeit with some unfortunate resonances with the Crusades in "armies" which "bear the saving cross." MacCarthy closes, however, on a simile that invokes the natural – "Like to those fragrant navies of the Nile." MacCarthy's lengthy endnote on this image of the "fragrant navies" quotes an extended passage which describes hives that are carried on boats along the Nile so that the bees can gather nectar from flowers of different

regions in Egypt: "This industry produces for the Egyptians delicious honey, and abundance of bees' wax" (64*n*). The hives, too, are collected from far and wide: "the hives, after being collected from the different villages, and conveyed up the Nile, marked and numbered by the individuals to whom they belong, are heaped pyramidically upon the boats prepared to receive them" (64*n*). MacCarthy offers a model for a benign globalism, in which a collective of "individuals" works together to collect a renewable resource for the good of all without damaging the space in which that renewable resource is produced or challenging the rights of property. The bees are at once a practical example and a metaphor for a community that gathers without damaging and profits without violence, an Edenic bee (apparently stingless) that "floats humming o'er the green" (154). Moreover, this "humming" bee is part of the cycles of nature rather than the repetitions of human conquest; the journey down the Nile begins "About the end of October," they stop "a shorter or longer time, according to the produce which is afforded by the surrounding country" and "are brought back, about the beginning of February" (64*n*). Responsive to the places that it visits and yet tied to the season from October to February, this exemplary bee is tacitly contrasted to "War's dread vulture" (149), the "fierce vultures" (224) which prey rather than pray, as well as the emblematic butterfly that opens MacCarthy's description of conquest:

> Those vulgar victors, whose ill-omened names
> The dotard Fame, with babbling tongue, proclaims;
> Whose conquests form, in every clime and age,
> The blood-red rubric of the historic page;
> Whose fatal path, the trampled nations o'er,
> On the world's map is traced in lines of gore.
> Like to those insects of a summer hour
> Which float with gaudy wing from flower to flower,
> And leave (as oft the startled swain perceives)
> A shower of blood upon the rifled leaves.[58] (137–46)

MacCarthy's similes offer the British a stark choice: be "Like to those insects" that shower blood-like excrement in their wake, or "Like to those fragrant navies of the Nile, / Which bear the bee" – "form . . . the blood-red rubric of the historic page" or "A blessing and a joy to every peaceful shore."

Thus, MacCarthy, like Morgan and Maturin, associates conventional historiographical writing with accounts of violence and predation, representing colonial history as fractured and repetitive – a mind-numbing

onslaught of episodic fragments, lacunæ, and thwarted endings. While Morgan and Maturin end on notes of despair, MacCarthy's extended analogy of the Egyptian bees offers a cyclical narrative in which repetition can be not violent but benign. Because it can be repeated, it is profitable; but because it does not consume too much or rely on territorial management, following the flow of a river rather than setting up outposts along borders, it can profit without violence. Asia in these texts speaks to the problem of colonial history because it has a longer history than the British Empire's – the repetitions of violence stretch out across millennia rather than centuries, and the British identification of their empire with forerunners in Greece and Rome can be complicated by aligning their empire with the Mughals in India. But that MacCarthy finds another solution in an orientalist site, Egypt, suggests that history can offer other lessons than those of imperial predation if its temporality is rooted in these harmonies and rhythms of nature rather than history's accounts of monarchs, wars, and territorial tensions. While Morgan's "Absenteeism" stresses cultural harmonies via the periodical press, Maturin and MacCarthy imagine a naturally harmonious world that can be recognized by virtuous subjects (as in Immalee's vision of India and Baber's rule of Afghanistan), as well as destroyed by rapacious armies and traders. But in all three writers' texts, generative harmonies are cyclical and responsive while colonial history is bluntly repetitive – caught in its own solipsistic and repetitive loop of desire and gratification.

CHAPTER 6

Bram Stoker and Oscar Wilde: All Points East

> "I want to know why you didn't obey me ordhers?" sez the Saint. . . .
>
> "I didn't obey," sez he [the King of the Snakes], "because I thraverse the jurisdiction."
>
> "How do ye mane?" asks St. Pathrick.
>
> "Because," sez he, "this is my own houldin'," sez he, "be perscriptive right," sez he. "I'm the whole govermint here, and I put a nexeat on meself not to lave widout me own permission," and he ducks down agin into the pond. . . .
>
> So the Saint stood on the edge of the empty lake an' held up his crozier, and called on the Shnake to come forth. And when he luked down, lo! an' behold ye! there lay the King iv the Shnakes. . . . Then the Shnake raised his head, and, lo! and behold ye! there was no crown on to it. . . .
>
> "An' till ye git me crown I'm king here still, though ye banish me. An' mayhap, I'll come in some forrum what ye don't suspect, for I must watch me crown. An' now I go away – iv me own accorrd."
>
> Bram Stoker, *The Snake's Pass* (1890)

In Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891) and Stoker's post-*Dracula* fiction, most notably *The Lady of the Shroud* (1909) and *The Lair of the White Worm* (1911), the gothic not only serves as a means of articulating the "dawn of simulation," as Hogle has compellingly argued in relation to *Dracula*,[1] but also as a vehicle by which Stoker and Wilde co-opt the globalism of modernity to reveal the emptiness of collection and revalue the hybrid subject of colonialism. Or, put another way, Wilde and Stoker use the instability of the late Victorian gothic subject to address the instabilities of imperial geography. Their protagonists, like Wilde and Stoker themselves, move between the metropole and its domestic

and imperial peripheries. In Stoker's fiction, hybrid subjects shore up the borders of empire, drawing on their globally acquired expertise to protect the centre of power from its imminent collapse – a collapse ascribed in both *The Lair of the White Worm* and *The Lady of the Shroud* to an elite that is either too decadent or too aged to fulfil its responsibilities. Indebted to contemporary notions of a hardier frontier breed, with nods to Darwinian thought and the eugenics it helped to spawn, Stoker's Australian, Anglo-Burmese, and Anglo-Irish-Scottish characters revitalize the empire, saving it from its own inevitable decline. In Wilde's novel, however, a complex network of orientalist affiliations link the metropole doubly to its own domestic abject, the impoverished East End, and its colonial object, the "East." In these texts, the East is imagined through the conventional orientalist lexicon which Moore, Morgan, and Maturin complicated through sentiment, but once again – as in such texts as Lewis's "Anaconda" and Edgeworth's "Lame Jervas" – to situate the white-but-colonized subject between the vulnerable metropole and the threatening East. The East by this point in British imperial expansion is more expansively defined, now including large swathes of territory from the modern-day Middle East to Hong Kong, but still shadowed by the Romantic-era engagement with Britain's first colony in the "East," India.

Imperial gothic at the end of the nineteenth century departs from the concerns with inheritance that we saw in preceding chapters. Instead of estates, there are vast arrays of artifacts, often in connection with new areas of knowledge, collected from around the globe. Transposing imperial acquisition into scholarly or aesthetic collection, the violence around which Maturin's novel turns is elided in late-Victorian imperial gothic beneath the objective, curious gaze of European civility. But, in this regard, imperial gothic is less overtly implicated in high capitalism than in the globalism which also marks modernity. The counterfeit discussed by Hogle is thus reinflected, "market[ing] . . . the acquisitive and uncertainly grounded self in an increasingly capitalist world" but specifically as a subject to whom the globe is accessible. This is, in broad terms, a long-standing feature of imperial discourse. In William Cowper's *The Task* (1785), for instance, the travelogue ties colonial periphery to metropole:

> He travels, and I too. I tread his deck,
> Ascend his topmast, through his peering eyes
> Discover countries, with a kindred heart . . .
> While fancy, like the finger of a clock,
> Runs the great circuit, and is still at home.[2]

As Brantlinger argues in *Rule of Darkness*, late imperial gothic suggests an awareness that the globe is fully explored, and thus turns to the occult as a new area of enquiry. But late imperial gothic is also much concerned with a second, tacitly capitalist consequence of global exploration as well as occult investigations: reporting them to metropolitan readers who, like the speaker of Cowper's *The Task*, seek access to empire. The protagonists of novels by H. Rider Haggard, Rudyard Kipling, Arthur Conan Doyle, and Robert Louis Stevenson are nothing if not mobile, penetrating into hidden regions of the globe and selling the secrets they uncover to their reading audiences. Doyle's (Irish) journalist in *The Lost World* (1912) is a late example of the type, his participation in a controversial scientific expedition marking the imperative to report such findings to the public at large. Philip Meadows Taylor's *Confessions of a Thug* (1839) is an exemplary precursor of this tradition, offering an ethnographic study of a supposed cult that organizes Indian violence into a knowable set of practices and codes.[3] Such a commodification of global knowledge participates in a variation of Baudrillardian simulation, assuring British subjects of epistemic mastery as a metonym for imperial mastery through the simulacra of ethnographic study and artifacts as well as the structures of knowledge discussed by Bhabha.[4] It is this discursive facade to which Wilde's and Stoker's fictions respond.

THE "UGLINESS" OF EMPIRE: WILDE'S 'THE PICTURE OF DORIAN GRAY'

In 1891, Oscar Wilde published two texts: his essay, "The Soul of Man Under Socialism," and an expanded version of the novel he had published in *Lippincott's Magazine* the previous year, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. There is much to connect these two texts, including, as Simon Joyce has noted, their construction of criminality.[5] My concern, however, is Wilde's emphasis in both works on the relationship between property and the development of personality, particularly in the context of the impoverished East End and Barrell's discussion of its intermediary position in the imperial imaginary. In "The Soul of Man," Wilde writes,

> Private property has crushed true Individualism, and set up an Individualism that is false. It has debarred one part of the community from being individual by starving them. It has debarred the other part of the community from being individual by putting them on the wrong road and encumbering them. Indeed, so completely has man's personality been absorbed by his possessions that the English law has always treated offences against a man's property with far more

severity than offences against his person, and property is still the test of complete citizenship.[6]

Wilde divides the "community" into two parts in which neither achieves its potential: one is starved into non-identity and the other is consumed by its own possessions. In *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, Wilde similarly explores this bifurcation of community by property through the starved East End, the surfeited West End, and the hybrid figure that moves between them. Dorian, the product of a cross-class marriage, becomes what he possesses, most obviously the portrait but also the East End in which he is "Prince Charming" and consumes the lives of the East End's inhabitants. Drained of capital and unable to acquire individuality because of their poverty in a world where property is citizenship, the faces of the East End's inhabitants are pale and blank – and the occasional pallor of the West End's wealthy denizens marks the guilt on their hands.

I wish to begin with some suggestive connections between Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* and Thomas De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* in order to establish their reliance on related orientalizations of the East End as the proximate East of the metropole.[7] The relationship between the two texts is rarely mentioned much less discussed in detail, despite well-established connections between Wilde's work and De Quincey's essays on crime, "Pen, Pencil, Poison" and "On Murder Considered as One of the Fine Arts." The *Confessions* were readily available to Wilde. First published serially in 1821, De Quincey's text was then republished in volume form in 1822 and again after authorial revision in 1856; it also appeared just months before the appearance of Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* in David Masson's edition of De Quincey's *Collected Writings* (1889–1890). The text was also repeatedly invoked in the Victorian period, whether as an authority on opium addiction in Wilkie Collins' *The Moonstone* (1868) or as a precursor text in such works as Fitz Hugh Ludlow's *The Hasheesh Eater* (1857). Both De Quincey's *Confessions* and Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* deal with an upper-class protagonist's alienation from elite social circles, and involve opium in that alienation. Both protagonists become obsessed with an innocent young woman from London's East End, and abandon her in some way. Both protagonists are fatherless and have unhappy childhoods marred by troubled relationships with domineering male guardians. Both texts specifically associate Malays with opium use, and correspond in various other details, such as the identification of the London poor with theatrical entertainments. More pertinently here, both

include episodes in which the upper-class protagonist descends into the East – figuratively through opium and more literally by visiting the East End. In this regard, Barrell's analysis of De Quincey's representation of the East End can shed light on Wilde's.[8]

In *The Infection of Thomas De Quincey*, Barrell argues that

> There is a "this," and there is a something hostile to it, something which lies, almost invariably, to the east; but there is an East beyond that East, where something lurks which is equally threatening to both, and which enables or obliges them to reconcile their differences. . . . There are the cities of London and Westminster; there is the East End; and there is the East. It is by this means that the limited class solidarity essential to an imperial power, and especially to its ruling class, is produced, for it enables the differences between one class and another to be fully acknowledged, and then represented as almost trivial, when compared with the civilization they both share, but which is emphatically not shared by whatever oriental other, the sepoys or the dervishes, is in season at the time.[9]

I have quoted Barrell (again) at length because of the great utility of this explanatory paradigm for grasping the complicated race and class dynamics at work in nineteenth-century representations of London's East End.[10] It is exotic and otherworldly, but still English at a time of crisis when the interests of the West End require its cooperation. In Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, a similar dynamic is at work but one informed by the new orientalist aesthetic emerging in European culture as well as the political and historical forces which fostered the further abjection of the peoples identified with the "East." My argument here overlaps in some senses with Curtis Marez's argument that Wilde, in general, follows a model in which non-Western art is mere ornamentation which can inspire Western art but cannot reach its aesthetic level, thus carving out a space in which, as Marez puts it, "the Irish can become citizens of the British Empire, and by extension, the legitimate heirs of European culture, only if others are treated as objects and hence excluded from imperial citizenship."[11] However, I would add that this process of exclusion is critiqued in *The Picture of Dorian Gray* insofar as the novel works to exclude and "treat[] as objects" the inhabitants of London's East End as the proximate avatars of the orientalized Other. *The Picture of Dorian Gray* condemns, as Marez finds in Wilde's non-fiction prose, the abjection of Europeans by way of accepting the abjection of non-Europeans (the choice of the East End in this regard is not coincidental, given its significant Irish population in the nineteenth century). In a provocative transformation of the DeQuinceyan this/that/the Other

model described by Barrell, Wilde represents the British aristocracy making common aesthetic cause with the exotic East, while abjecting domestically, on aesthetic as well as other grounds, the nearest East – the East End. The deprivation of the East End is represented as an extension of the West End's artistic poverty, and its orientalization is the cognate of the West End's obsession with oriental ornamentation.

This aesthetic cause is, as Anita Levy has argued, grounded in a model of capitalist acquisition in which Dorian is defined by the collection of objects which surround him. If "The extended section devoted to Dorian's jewels, tapestries, vestments, instruments, and embroideries reconfigures kinship relations, historical events, and other cultures according to the logic of collection,"[12] it does so on terms that evoke modernity's notion of the global as the space in which objects circulate as commodities. Dorian surveys his objects in terms of the varied ethnicities which produced them as well as the history of the European acquisition of such objects. His musical instruments are played by or taken from various orientalized groups from northern Africa to the East to South America, including "gypsies," "Tunisians," "Indians," "Aztecs," and natives of Argentina, Peru, Chile, Mexico, and Brazil (134). The specification of ethnic origin suggests that this production of a viable, or at least (in Hogle's terms) "marketable," modern self in imperial London requires a specifically global capitalist reach. An extension of the Indian shawls which pepper early nineteenth-century British fiction as signs of imperial access to luxury goods, Dorian's collection characterizes him as not only wealthy in capitalist signifiers, but also as imperially mobile. If Cowper's Enlightenment gaze requires only a travelogue to collapse the distance between metropole and periphery, high capitalism requires precious objects. Thus, in "accumulat[ing] the most exquisite specimens that he could find of textile and embroidered work," Dorian gathers materials from India as well as (to use modern names) Bangladesh, Java, China, Hungary, Sicily, Spain, Georgia, and Japan, from southern and eastern Europe as well as Asia (139) – but not from the British Isles.

Stories of jewels are taken from the orient proper, including India in general and Malabar in particular, Arabia, "Ceilan" (modern-day Sri Lanka) and "Zipangu" (Marco Polo's name for Japan) (136), but quickly turn from mystical properties of jewels in such tales to the simple numerical excess of European jewellery. While "The King of Malabar had shown to a certain Venetian a rosary of three hundred and four pearls, one for every god that he worshipped" and "The King of Ceilan rode through his city with a large ruby in his hand, at the ceremony of his

coronation'' (136), ''Charles of England had ridden in stirrups hung with four hundred and twenty-one diamonds'' (137) for no apparent reason and on no particular occasion. In the transfer from East to West, from the space of the ''Other'' to the space of the metropole, objects are stripped of their meaning and reduced to immediate aesthetic response and capitalist value: ''The state bed of Sobieski, King of Poland, was made of Smyrna gold brocade embroidered in turquoises with verses from the Koran. Its supports were of silver gilt, beautifully chased, and profusely set with enamelled and jewelled medallions. It had been taken from the Turkish camp before Vienna, and the standard of Mohammed had stood beneath the tremulous gilt of its canopy'' (138–9). In this regard, Wilde follows the underlying logic of the stolen-oriental-jewel topos of Victorian literature. In works such as Wilkie Collins' *The Moonstone*, R. L. Stevenson's ''The Rajah's Diamond'' (1878), and A. C. Doyle's ''The Ring of Thoth'' (1890), gems in their original Eastern contexts are imbued with metaphysical and cultural significance but are reduced to commodities in European hands, collapsing eighteenth-century anxieties about the wealth of returning nabobs (130, above) into a portable piece of twinkling carbon – commodities haunted, in Georges Bataille's sense, by their fuller significance on terms that disrupt, and even contaminate, English society.[13]

Marez suggests that ''Once these artifacts from 'dead and dying' cultures have been liberated from their particular cultural and historical contexts, Dorian, like Wilde, can employ them to help obliterate memories of the past,''[14] but the commodification of artifacts redolent with religious or historical meanings is part of a larger Victorian orientalist practice in which such precious objects serve to estrange the British subject from cultural norms. The most pronounced figure of contamination in the novel is, of course, the notorious ''yellow book.'' But the book itself is a collection; like *Melmoth the Wanderer* (by Wilde's ancestor, Maturin) and Morgan's ''quota of illustration'' (156, above) it is a collection of tales of European predation. Dorian's favourite chapters in the book are tales of aristocrats and emperors who abused their power. The first of the three pivotal chapters deals with Roman emperors, living lives of luxury while the populace suffers. These emperors were also associated with sexual improprieties (by British standards), but so were most of the Roman emperors. What distinguishes this particular list of rulers is their violent behaviour towards those within their domain, as opposed to the violence of military conflicts with other nations. In the next two chapters, violent and corrupt figures of the Italian Renaissance

are listed, including one "who had a passion for red blood, as other men have for red wine" (146), another "into whose torpid veins the blood of three lads was infused" (146), and various other murderers and madmen. This is Dorian's "race": "one had ancestors in literature, as well as in one's own race, nearer perhaps in type and temperament, many of them, and certainly with an influence of which one was more absolutely conscious. There were times when it appeared to Dorian Gray that the whole of history was merely the record of his own life" (144).

Dorian, from his collection of various oriental artifacts to his collapse of history into the space of his own life, echoes the imperialist denial of the Other's history and specificity. As David Spurr has argued in his survey of the late nineteenth- and twentieth-century "rhetoric of empire," "the discourse of negation denies history as well as place, constituting the past as absence."[15] But Dorian's peculiar condition, dislocated from the traces of his own history, also recalls the position in which this form of negation places the Other: "The savage, in this view, lives in a continual state of self-presence, unable to leave that trace on the world which serves as the beginning of difference, distinction, opposition, and hence progress. This failure leads to the identification of Africans with the unchanged and ever self-present earth."[16] Traces emerge on only two sites: the East End and the portrait. Both bear the marks of Dorian's history, but the former also bears the marks of British history. In the metonymies and displacements of the novel, and particularly in its gothic machinery, Dorian is the focal point and the symbol of metropolitan decay and violence – a violence unseen by the distracted elite, but devastating to those of the East End. This violence is prefigured in Dorian's family history. Dorian's mother married "a penniless young fellow, a mere nobody, sir, a subaltern in a foot regiment, or something of that kind" (32). Dorian's maternal grandfather arranged for Dorian's father to be insulted and killed in the subsequent duel (32–3); Dorian's mother "never spoke to him [her father] again" (33) and "died within a year" (33). This grandfather then raised Dorian, while gaining a reputation for abusing cab drivers that even reached the Queen of Spain (33) and, because of his assassination of his son-in-law, "ate his chop alone at the club for some time afterwards" (33). The narrative of Dorian's maternal grandfather foreshadows Dorian's class violence and its consequence – both grandfather and grandson become scandals in elite circles.

In the generation of difference through the traces of violence, the East End emerges as the product of the West End through its very pallor. Wilde complicates the nineteenth-century orientalization of the East End

by representing its inhabitants as the locus of whiteness and the West End's denizens in the terms of orientalist racism, thus using race as a figure through which to reinforce the aesthetic alliance between the English elite and the oriental Other in the novel. Henry Wotton is described in the language of such racism: "His romantic olive-coloured face and worn expression interested him [Dorian]. There was something in his low, languid voice that was absolutely fascinating. His cool, white, flower-like hands, even, had a curious charm. They moved, as he spoke, like music" (20–1). Henry later evokes orientalist language when he describes himself as "wrinkled, worn, and yellow" (215). The dead Basil Hallward, similarly, has a "glistening yellow face" (174). However, those in the East End, and the working classes in general, are aligned with whiteness. "The curves of" Sybil Vane's "throat were the curves of a white lily. Her hands seemed to be made of cool ivory" (82). She is "this white girl" (57), "a pale rose" (75), "a white narcissus" (76), and she has a "little white body" (108). This is not merely gendered language, drawing on the tacitly racist identification of white skin with beauty (used elsewhere in Wilde's writing, most notably in *Salome*), as it is also used to describe Sibyl Vane's brother: Dorian "remembered that, pressed against the window of the conservatory like a white handkerchief, he had seen the face of James Vane" (199), foreshadowing the final appearance of Jim Vane with a handkerchief over his dead face (209). Hetty, a village girl seduced by Dorian, has, like Jim Vane, a "white face at the window" (211). Whiteness here emerges, in marked distinction to the discourses of racism which underpin recent whiteness studies, as a sign of those on the margins, on the outside looking in or approaching death – the pallor of sickness rather than beauty. When Henry speaks of a "crowd of shabby-looking people listening to some vulgar street-preacher," he describes them as "a ring of sickly white faces" (215), recalling the "thin bismuth-whitened hands" (59) of Mrs. Vane and "those white silent people we call the dead" (99). These associations trouble the conventional Victorian resonances of Wilde's references to the white hands of the aristocrats – Henry Wotton, Basil Hallward, the Duchess of Monmouth (193), and Dorian (128).

Moreover, to further accentuate the negative implications of whiteness, Dorian is always whitest when he is, in his own phrase, "concentrated on [him]self" (205): on the verge of breaking his engagement with Sybil Vane, he is "pale, and proud, and indifferent" (84); when Basil Hallward asks to see the portrait, Dorian becomes "pallid with rage" (112); on

a passing reference to "see[ing] [his] soul," Dorian "turn[s] almost white from fear" (152); fearful of Jim Vane's pursuit, "he grew pale with terror" (200). This suggestively recalls Spurr's discussion of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*: "The great emptiness signified by the blank space on the map becomes . . . the site of the subject's terrifying encounter with his own nothingness."[17] When Dorian looks at his soul and when Dorian encounters the East End, he grows white – assuming the deathly whiteness of the East End's residents. He confronts the evacuation of meaning symbolized by the aestheticization and dislocation of his global collection, and he does so specifically by turning to the domestic East, drained of capital just like the regions from which Dorian takes his collectibles. And his response to his "terrifying encounter with his own nothingness" is the consumption of orientalist artifacts. As Marez suggests, "both opium and non-Western art will serve the same purpose for Dorian, intermittently allowing him to escape his past. Indeed, tragic events seem to stimulate Dorian's taste for both exotic ornamentation and opium. After Sybil Vane's suicide, for instance, Dorian consoles himself by studying unusual textiles, such as Delhi muslins, Dacca gauzes, and cloth from Java."[18] Dorian turns from the whiteness and emptiness of himself and the East End where he is a notorious predator to the surfeit of orientalist accumulation.

While Mary Elizabeth Braddon's East End produces a villainous "sybarite,"[19] Wilde's East End is the "ugly" face which reveals the West End's moral iniquities. As Dorian journeys to the East End in the final pages of the novel, the narrator describes the power attracting him: "Ugliness that had once been hateful to him because it made things real, became dear to him now for that very reason. Ugliness was the one reality. The coarse brawl, the loathsome den, the crude violence of disordered life, the very vileness of thief and outcast, were more vivid, in their intense actuality of impression, than all the gracious shapes of Art, the dreamy shadows of Song" (186). Dorian makes such ugliness part of the foundation of Britishness: "Ugliness is one of the seven deadly virtues, Gladys. You, as a good Tory, must not underrate them. Beer, the Bible, and the seven deadly virtues have made our England what she is" (195). The suspension of Dorian's aging is bracketed by his penultimate and final visit to the East End: the former, his last meeting with Sybil Vane, marks his turn from the real to the aesthetic; the latter, his return to the real. Much has already been said about such aspects of the novel, so I shall not belabour them. What is pertinent here is the East End's function as the site of the real and

specifically, as Dorian's remark about ugliness suggests, the real England. The nineteenth-century orientalist dilemma of the two conceptions of the East discussed in Chapter 4 (above) – the fantasy of wealth and power which drives the imperial urge, and the material problems posed by colonial domination – is mapped onto the metropole itself. The inhabitants of the West End enjoy the fantasy of wealth and power, living the lives of nabobs amidst oriental ornaments and dutiful servants. They do not work for a living, policemen are always at hand, and everything is available to the point of surfeit. The East End is, as the allegorical, almost Dantesque nature of Wilde's novel demands, the inverse. And it, Wilde's narrative insists, is the "real England."

Like the marred portrait, the destitute East End reveals guilt – the whiteness that shows in Dorian's face when he is angry, panicked, or indifferent – but it specifically reveals "the sordid shame of the great city" (184). This shame is earlier addressed in the terms of race and empire:

> "Still, the East End is a very important problem," remarked Sir Thomas, with a grave shake of the head.
>
> "Quite so," answered the young lord [Henry]. "It is the problem of slavery, and we try to solve it by amusing the slaves." (40)

This passage echoes Wilde's essay, "The Soul of Man Under Socialism": "They try to solve the problem of poverty, for instance, by keeping the poor alive; or, in the case of a very advanced school, by amusing the poor."[20] In the novel, Sibyl Vane becomes the nexus for such references to slavery. When her brother warns her that Dorian "wants to enslave [her]," she replies, "I shudder at the thought of being free" (68), authorizing Lord Henry's claim, "I am afraid that women appreciate cruelty, downright cruelty, more than anything else. They have wonderfully primitive instincts. We have emancipated them, but they remain slaves looking for their masters all the same. They love being dominated" (102). Henry's phrasing draws attention to the rhetorical origins of racist domination in patriarchal domination, and contributes to the general representation of the East End as the site of Empire and all of its "ugliness."

In Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, then, as in vampire fiction, whiteness marks both predator and prey.[21] The East End, emptied of both cultural capital (as Henry's complaints about the theatre stress) and economical capital, is drained to the point of pallor. The white hands of the West End's inhabitants, like Lady Macbeth's hands, mark guilt as surely as Hallward's portrait of Dorian. Wilde's reference to the Duchess

of Monmouth's "white hands" and "full red lips" (193) appears amidst a detailed description of the luxury of the Monmouths' conservatory – with a "huge lace-covered lamp," "delicate china," "hammered silver," "a silk-draped wicker chair," the Duke's "Brazilian beetle" collection, and "elaborate smoking-suits" (193). This detailed description of West End excess, moreover, immediately follows a description of the destitution of the East End and Dorian's role in it. After Jim Vane lets Dorian go, thinking that his youth means that he is not his sister's destroyer, "one of the women who had been drinking at the bar" approaches him:

> "Why didn't you kill him?" she hissed out, putting her haggard face quite close to his. . . . "You fool! You should have killed him. He has lots of money, and he's as bad as bad."
>
> "He's not the man I am looking for," he answered. . . . "This one is little more than a boy." . . .
>
> The woman gave a bitter laugh. "Little more than a boy!" she sneered. "Why, man, it's nigh on eighteen years since Prince Charming made me what I am. . . . He is the worst one that comes here. . . . It's nigh on eighteen years since I met him. He hasn't changed much since then. I have though," she added, with a sickly leer. (192–3)

The West End parlour and East End gutter reveal the two faces of imperial acquisition: the false one of aesthetic perfection in wealth and the hidden one of predation to meet various appetites. "He has lots of money, and he's as bad as bad." The waste of aristocratic pleasure is thrown out and into the East End, recalling Hogle's application of Julia Kristeva's figure of the "abject," transforming its inhabitants while leaving the aristocratic centre apparently unscathed. In "The Soul of Man," Wilde contends that "a poor man who is ungrateful, unthrifty, discontented, and rebellious is probably a real personality, and has much in him," and then proceeds to characterize such personalities as essential to social progress: "Agitators are a set of interfering, meddling people, who come down to some perfectly contented class of the community and sow the seeds of discontent among them. That is the reason why agitators are so absolutely necessary. Without them, in our incomplete state, there would be no advance towards civilization."[22] If there is a "real personality" in Wilde's novel, then it is Jim Vane – the judge and would-be executioner of the aristocratic aesthete, Dorian Gray, who treated his sister so cruelly. But he never achieves the status of "agitator." At the novel's end, Jim Vane lies dead and forgotten, and Dorian has merely come to the terminus of a scandalous tale. As in Jane Wilde's view of Irish history – and Moore's and Morgan's – narrative does not lead to social progress.

In his representation of the East End and evocation of De Quincey, Wilde offers a critique of the colonial economics which underwrite British luxury and ethnographic collection on terms resonant with the class critique he also published in 1891, "The Soul of Man Under Socialism." Wilde's representation of the East End as the "sordid shame of the great city" (184) and suggestive deployment of whiteness and global collection turn the novel's narrative of personal immorality into a fable of imperial predation. Both the transfer of precious objects from the globe to the British metropole and the economic deprivation of the East End lead to an impoverishment of meaning that reflects the duplicity of the metropole. The London elite participate in a kind of "false consciousness" for the rich, "an Individualism that is false," which seeks to find itself in property but only reveals itself in violence.[23]

WAVES OF COLONIZATION: STOKER'S 'THE LAIR OF THE WHITE WORM'

Bram Stoker, with Anglo-Irish but less nationalistic roots than his friend and contemporary, Oscar Wilde, takes a rather different view. Particularly in Stoker's later novels, the British Empire is the site of a generative hybridity that strengthens, rather than reveals the emptiness of, the metropole. Kathleen L. Spencer has persuasively argued that Stoker's *Dracula* (1897) addresses fin-de-siècle British anxieties by expelling the threat of hybridity – the invading vampire from Eastern Europe – from British borders.[24] A similar threat from the East invades England in Stoker's *Jewel of Seven Stars* (1903), but on more complex terms. In that novel, the British heroine is identical in appearance to an ancient Egyptian Queen. Through their mystical connection and a great deal of Egyptological investigation, the Queen is resurrected in turn-of-the-century Britain. In the first version of the novel, her resurrection leads to the death of her British double while their similar appearance makes possible the Queen's escape into the Cornish countryside. The hybrid figure of the British daughter who looks Egyptian releases into the English countryside a Dracula-like terror, and ends on that note – without the reassuring resolution of *Dracula*.[25] While, in *Dracula*, Stoker "carrie[s] the Gothic ghost of the counterfeit to its more modern extension in the haunting explosion of simulations, including media simulations, with no single source,"[26] in *Jewel of Seven Stars* the East is the source and the West its mirror: seeking to objectively reproduce the

Orient, Western science fails before the occult power of the East and instead becomes the surface on which the East reduplicates itself. This is more than "reverse colonization."[27] It is an attenuation of the Western poverty of signification: the technology to reproduce and classify objects lies in the West, but the capacity to make meaning – as with the jewels in Dorian's collection – lies in the East.

But in Stoker's later fiction a different pattern emerges. In *The Lady of the Shroud* and *The Lair of the White Worm*, it is hybrid figures who are idealized and frequently help to save the unsullied British – because it is hybrid figures who can unite the capitalist resources of the West and the occult knowledge of the East (and the colonial periphery in general). Both novels represent aristocrats who are, if not degenerate or decadent in the precise Victorian senses of the terms, clear departures from the noble ideal. The younger aristocrats and gentry are power- or money-hungry, insane, or comically stupid, sometimes with the support of an equally facile elder. As a child, Ernest Melton in *The Lady of the Shroud*, for instance, is rewarded with money by his father whenever he makes a rude remark about poorer relations. Some older members of the elite are noble, generous, and proper, but always childless and thus heirless – a dying race. The heroes of both *The Lady of the Shroud* and *The Lair of the White Worm* are relatives of such heirless noble men, but relatives who have not benefitted from British family wealth. Instead, they have made their name, or their fortune, in colonial regions, and they marry women from liminal spaces, "on the edge of empire." Adam, of *The Lair of the White Worm*, is an Australian rancher. He is wealthy, practical, strong, and familiar with colonial wildlife and technologies; halfway through the novel he marries an Anglo-Burmese woman named Mimi, "born and bred in Siam" but now living with her very Saxon half-sister in the English countryside.[28] Mimi's psychic abilities help to defeat the monsters of the tale that threaten that countryside and, as Glover notes, Mimi is no simply represented heroine, particularly given imperial racism and the popular designation of the Burmese as the "Irish of the East."[29] Rupert, of *The Lady of the Shroud*, is Anglo-Irish-Scottish, the product of a complex genealogy to which the first few pages of the novel are devoted. He is raised by a Scottish aunt and, halfway through the novel, he marries Teuta, a Balkan princess from the border between East and West. Before reaching the Balkans, Rupert has travelled the non-European globe, acquiring mystical as well as worldly knowledge in his travels. The action of both novels begins when these self-made

men from the colonies who marry orientalized women are made the heirs of their heirless relatives. In fairly clear terms, then, these two novels represent an almost modernist anxiety about the end of the old aristocratic order (as opposed to the late-Victorian anxiety about the end of empire). But the shoring up of the nation's decaying boundaries requires the importation of strength and vigor from the margins of empire.

In *The Lair of the White Worm*, the national-imperial implications of the tale are particularly provocative. In the early pages of the novel, Stoker establishes a context rooted in the Roman conquest of Britain. Adam Salton, the hero, and his heirless relation, Richard Salton, are experts on Roman Britain; Adam's lecture, "The Romans in Britain," first calls him to his grand-uncle's attention, and ultimately results in his return to Britain and position as heir to the Salton estate (15). Richard's best friend, and Adam's best advisor during the novel's crises, "is devoted to history, and President of the Mercian Archælogical Society" (17). The action of the novel takes place in what was Mercia, with frequent references to Roman ruins, placenames, and so forth. Adam's arrival in the region coincides with the return of two ancient threats: Edgar Caswall, the last heir to the biggest estate in the region, and the "White Worm," a large white snake which takes on the human form of "a beautiful woman of aristocratic birth" (61), Lady Arabella March. The Caswalls are residues of Roman domination: "The pictures and effigies of them all [the Caswalls] show their adherence to the early Roman type" (20). Edgar Caswall has an "early Roman look" which Adam interprets as threatening (38), and "was still the old Roman in inflexibility of purpose" (71). Arabella, possessed by the Worm and able to transform herself into its shape, claims pre-Roman roots, referring to estate rights which "existed before the time of the Romans or even Celts, who were the original possessors" (155). The Arabella/Worm figure is "primeval" (130, 173), "primal" (132), "semi-human" (134), and "antediluvian" (135); it comes from "the Marsh of the East" (132), and is compared to a giant Indian snake (41). Edgar comes from Africa, and has with him an African servant, Oolanga, the third villain of the novel. Edgar and Arabella are thus both linked to colonial spaces and pre-Saxon Britain, and both are shadowed by figures that are represented as primitive, namely the racistly drawn "primitive" Oolanga and the "primal" White Worm (91, 132). Thus, the novel insistently harks back to England's colonial status under Rome as well as the British Empire's echoing of its Roman predecessor, particularly in both empires' advances on Africa.

None of these villains is quite sane, but the origins of their mental disturbances are suggestively different. The narrator provides a detailed diagnosis:

> The fact was that Edgar Caswall was, if not mad, close to the border-line. Madness in its first stage – monomania – is a lack of proportion. So long as this is general, it is not always noticeable. . . . The most usual form of monomania has commonly the same beginning as that from which Edgar Caswall suffered – an over-large idea of self-importance. . . . Caswall's mental disturbance was not hard to identify. Every asylum is full of such cases – men and women, who, naturally selfish and egotistical, so appraise to themselves their own importance that every other circumstance in life becomes subservient to it. The disease supplies in itself the material of self-magnification. When the decadence attacks a nature naturally proud and selfish and vain, and lacking both the aptitude and habit of self-restraint, the development of the disease is more swift, and ranges to farther limits. It is such persons who become imbued with the idea that they have the attributes of the Almighty – even that they themselves are the Almighty. (173–4)

Aristocratic privilege thus becomes a catalyst for Edgar's madness, a monomania that takes as its object an item from Edgar's extensive ethnographic collection. As in Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, privilege and global acquisitiveness unsettle the elite British subject – as we saw in Chapter 4, possession leads to the loss of self-possession. This monomaniacal over-reaching is repeated in different terms with the other villains of the tale. Arabella becomes obsessed with Edgar, with the mercenary purpose of repairing her financial fortunes through a marriage with the wealthy aristocrat. And Oolanga becomes obsessed with Arabella, again for financial reasons.

Stoker's representation of Oolanga is unabashedly and crudely racist – so much so that it almost veers into parody. Some of the most coarsely racist passages occur when Oolanga is being compared to one of the white villains. Oolanga becomes the excessive Other from which even the monstrous Arabella and mad Edgar must be differentiated:

> Caswall looked indeed a savage – but a cultured savage. In him were traces of the softening civilisation of ages – of some of the higher instincts and education of man, no matter how rudimentary these might be. But the face of Oolanga, as his master called him, was unreformed, unsoftened savage, and inherent in it were all the hideous possibilities of a lost, devil-ridden child of the forest and the swamp. (31)

> Oolanga came close behind Lady Arabella, and in a hushed voice, suitable to the importance of his task, and in deference to the respect he had for her and the place, began to unfold the story of his love. Lady Arabella was not usually a humorous person, but no man or woman of the white race could have checked

the laughter which rose spontaneously to her lips. The circumstances were too grotesque, the contrast too violent, for subdued mirth. The man a debased and primitive specimen and of an ugliness which was simply devilish; the woman of high degree, beautiful, accomplished. (91)

Oolanga's superlative Otherness is reinforced in the scene in which the three join forces to defeat Mimi, the Anglo-Burmese heroine, and her half-sister Lilla who is "of the commonality" (70). Since Burma was annexed in 1886, twenty-five years before the novel's publication, the two sisters suggest the metropole and its assimilable colonies. Mimi is half English and can live in, as well as fight for, English land; she is orientalized, but she is also disciplined and, critically, shows the proper sensibility by protecting Lilla (recalling Edgeworth's Indian prince, who protects Jervas from wrongful conviction). The three villains, however, are physiologically Other, mad, and form a cross-class and inter-racial alliance that not only contrasts the sisterly bonds that unite Mimi and Lilla but also conflicts with dominant Western views: "That combination of forces – the overlord, the white woman, and the black man – would have cost some – probably all of them – their lives in the Southern States of America. To us it was simply horrible" (70). All three, for different reasons, threaten the rural English ideal, Lilla, and are entangled in a chain of thwarted love triangles – Oolanga loves Arabella, Arabella pursues Edgar, and Edgar pursues Lilla, often literally in various strange chase scenes.

The villains enter the sisters' home and try to subdue them in "some sort of mesmeric or hypnotic battle" (70), with Edgar staring hard at Lilla in particular: "On Lilla the strain began to tell disastrously. She grew pale – a patchy pallor, which meant that her nerves were out of order" (70), a diagnosis that marks the survival of medical sensibility as a model in which emotional distress could lead to physical symptoms. Throughout, she gathers strength from Mimi: "A dozen times she seemed about to collapse in a faint, but each time, on catching sight of Mimi's eyes, she made a fresh struggle and pulled through" (71). Eventually, this turns the tide:

I saw Mimi's hand move restlessly, as if groping for something. Mechanically, it touched that of Lilla, and in that instant she was transformed. It was as if youth and strength entered afresh into something already dead to sensibility and intention. As if by inspiration, she grasped the other's hand with a force which blenched the knuckles. Her face suddenly flamed, as if some divine light shone through it. Her form expanded till it stood out majestically. Lifting her right hand, she stepped forward towards Caswall, and with a bold sweep of her arm seemed to drive some strange force towards him. Again and again was the gesture repeated, the man falling back from her at each movement. (71–2)

I have quoted this passage at length because of its powerful implications. Lilla is native English, the ideal of "rose-white" rural womanhood, but her sister was "born and bred in Siam"; the two share an English father, but Lilla's mother was English and Mimi's Burmese. They are raced at the outset: "Strange how different they are! Lilla all fair, like the old Saxon stock from which she is sprung; Mimi showing a trace of her mother's race. Lilla is as gentle as a dove, but Mimi's black eyes can glow whenever she is upset" (35). Given the emphatically racist representation of Oolanga and the narrator's reference to American attitudes towards miscegenation, Mimi's importance to the resolution of the plot and role as the hero's love interest are striking. Through Mimi, the "gentle," "fair," but vulnerable "Saxon" woman is "transformed" – "as if youth and strength entered afresh into something already dead to sensibility and intention." Mimi rejuvenates, re-energizes and, at least this time, saves the English ideal. The images of Lilla "already dead to sensibility" as a conduit – "entered afresh," "inspiration," "light shone through" – recall Sir Nathaniel's speculation that "the foul White Worm obtained control of [Arabella's] body, just as her soul was leaving its earthly tenement" (61). Mimi and the White Worm are thus tacitly paired and contrasted not only in their orientalization but also in their ability to enter and revitalize the vulnerable and insensible English female body: the half-English Mimi, however, emerges as the moral ideal as well as the stronger. Mimi brings the new strength of the imperial periphery, lost to the "Southern States," while the White Worm is an atavism, an ancient domestic threat whose reign must come to an end for the nation to be revitalized. In this regard, Mimi is a further illustration of the process analyzed in recent Americanist studies in which previously racialized categories can become assimilated ("white") when it serves particular interests, a process that suggestively echoes Barrell's argument that De Quincey constructs a mobile "that" (the British lower classes) between "this" (the British elite) and "the Other" (the "orient"). But she also fits older stereotypes, discussed by Pratt, in which the exotic female Other can be accommodated through a gender paradigm that ensures her subordination to the (white) man.[30]

This contrast is echoed and reinforced by another pair – Adam Salton and Edgar Caswall. Both grew up outside of England and have only recently returned because of inheritances, both are connected by birth to two of the older families in the region, both are attracted to the Watford sisters (Adam to Mimi and Edgar to Lilla), and both are associated with marriage plots. Adam meets, becomes engaged to, and marries Mimi

during the course of the novel, while Edgar is pursued unsuccessfully by Arabella. Their handling of oriental elements is telling here. Adam notices early in the novel that the region is populated by snakes (which, of course, appear to respond to Arabella), so he orders mongooses (32, 64, 99), including two "king-cobra-killers" (64, 99), and hunts snakes with them (43, 53); the Indian mongoose is simply a tool. For Edgar, however, non-European items are an obsession – he takes the "logic of collection" in Wilde's novel to its mad extreme. After his first defeat by Mimi, a horde of birds arrives in the region, destroying all of the crops. Edgar follows his "experience of China" and flies a kite in the shape of a hawk (73), but it becomes the focus of his madness. He starts "the old schoolboy game of sending up 'runners' to the kite," using wind-pressure to drive bits of paper upward along the kite's string, but quickly becomes obsessed and thinks himself in communication with a sentient kite (78). The kite, despite wind direction, is fixed by two orientalized points: it floats directly over Diana's Grove, the haunt of the White Worm, and one of its wires is held in place by "the Egyptian image of Bes" (100) (a minor god with some attributes similar to that of a scarecrow). Even the sound of the kite is orientalized: "If one laid a finger on the string, the sound answered to the flapping of the runner in a sort of hollow intermittent murmur. Caswall, who was now wholly obsessed with the kite and all belonging to it, found a distinct resemblance between that intermittent rumble and the snake charming music produced by the pigeons flying through the dry reeds" (99). The identification of the pigeons' noise with "snake charming music" is originally attributed to Mimi in the passage which most stresses her race: "To Mimi, born and bred in Siam, the sound was strangely like an exaggeration of the sound produced by a snake-charmer" (97). Edgar also becomes obsessed (along with Oolanga) with an extensive collection of religious artifacts and weapons, including "ancient Egyptian relics from tombs and mummies; curios from Australia, New Zealand, and the South Seas; idols and images – from Tartar ikons to ancient Egyptian, Persian, and Indian objects of worship . . . " (79). For Edgar, everything associated with the orient (as a capacious imaginary category rather than a real space) is mystical and attractive, feeding his madness. For Adam and those with whom he is allied, the orient is the source of forces that are used only when necessary for defense: Mimi's psychic powers are used to protect Lilla and the mongooses are used only to rid the area of dangerous snakes. In other words, just as Edgar's and Arabella's dangerousness is moderated by their favourable comparison to Oolanga, so Adam and Mimi's exoticism is

moderated by their favourable comparison to Edgar. Their exoticism is put to work to defend the vulnerable, though valuable, elements of the nation against the destructive residues of the nation's now-obsolete past. Edgar's exoticism, fixed on antiquities and his own Roman attributes, figures that past and the attempt to preserve it.

Suggestively, utilitarian exoticism is only moderated. Adam is still the Australian who hunts snakes with king-cobra-killing mongooses, and the husband of a woman "born and bred in Siam" and in possession of considerable psychic powers. It is they who rid the English countryside of the ancient White Worm, and they who try to protect the "Saxon" Lilla from Edgar. This is less a matter of "reverse colonization"[31] than an argument for the *re*colonization of England. The descendants of the Saxons are weak or aged, the descendants of the Romans are corrupt and insane, and the only pre-Saxon survivor is a "primal" monster. Of "each fresh wave of invasion – the Angles, the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans" and the Romans (25), no descendant is up to the tasks demanded by the novel's crises. As Glover suggests, it is "as if [whiteness] had become uncoupled from modernization and was now somehow too tainted, too compromised, too unappetizing to be accepted in all its much-vaunted purity."[32] A fresh wave of colonization, in the form of the Anglo-Australian and his Anglo-Burmese bride, proves to be the answer, purging the nation of the corrupt residues of its past and revitalizing it through an injection of the products of a global modernity. They are even rewarded in the terms of late colonial narratives: they buy Arabella's home (and the Worm's Lair), Diana's Grove, and discover large oil deposits beneath it, making them even richer through the discovery of untapped natural resources.

SHORING UP THE BORDERS OF EMPIRE: STOKER'S 'THE LADY OF THE SHROUD'

Just as *The Lair of the White Worm* imagines a colonial solution to the metropole's decay and enervation by drawing on the revivifying energies of the colonies, *The Lady of the Shroud*, as Glover has persuasively argued, imagines a "benevolent colonialism" in which "the ideal of citizenship is founded on a 'logic of repudiation' in which the abjection of one's deepest racialized fears . . . is predicated on matching the barbarousness of one's opponents with a primitive energy of one's own."[33] But it does more. This "benevolent colonialism" achieves not only national stability and a measure of independence, but also the shoring up of the

borders between East and West through carefully regulated contact between them. The Land of the Blue Mountains lies in the Balkans, and it is carefully placed in a hybrid space between East and West. Its people follow the Eastern Church, but their enemies are the Turks; they are represented as more primitive than the Scottish Highlanders, but more civilized than the people of Turkey. The Blue Mountains includes "the little port of Ilsin, which long ago [they] wrested from the Turk" (231); and, from a British perspective, the region lies in the "eastern road" (297). William Hughes has recently discussed the Land of the Blue Mountains as a medial space within the colonial imaginary, on terms resonant with the ways in which Ireland is positioned in various texts discussed in the present study, "an Eastern-European stage still technologically behind the West, but racially associated with Europe rather than the traditional theatres of Imperial success."[34] At the end of the novel, celebrating the defeat of Turkey's invasion plans, the hero's Scottish uncle, Sir Colin MacKelpie, declares, "we shall, if it be given to us by the Almighty, help to build up together a new 'nation' – an ally of Britain, who will stand at least as an outpost of our own nation, and a guardian of our eastern road" (297). This "outpost" is forged, if not actually bought, through the resources culled from the far reaches of empire. Two men make possible the Land of the Blue Mountains' rescue of its hereditary leaders (the Voivode and his daughter, Teuta, the Voivodin), and consolidation of national defenses by air, land, and sea – Roger Melton and his nephew, Rupert Sent Leger.

Roger Melton broadly represents the form of empire that Frederic Jameson describes as "the imperialist dynamic of capitalism proper, and not the wars of conquest of the various ancient empires," in which scholars can examine "a coordination between political phenomena . . . and economic phenomena."[35] Roger Melton, in his lifetime, accumulates the astonishing sum of one billion pounds because of his capitalist ventures, primarily in the East:

> Uncle Roger has tons of money, and he never married. . . . He made his money in what he calls "The Eastern Trade." This, so far as I can gather, takes in the Levant and all east of it. I know he has what they call in trade "houses" in all sorts of places – Turkey, and Greece, and all round them, Morocco, Egypt, and Southern Russia, and the Holy Land; then on to Persia, India, and all round it; the Chersonese, China, Japan, and the Pacific Islands. (21–2)

Called a "great merchant-prince" by the Voivode, Roger Melton limits himself to "ventures in commerce and finance" (46). The specific

character of Roger Melton's dealings comes close to profiteering, notwithstanding his lawyer's praise:

> "How on earth could a man beginning with nothing realize such a gigantic fortune?"
>
> "By all honest ways," he [the lawyer] answered, "and his clever human insight. He knew one half of the world, and so kept abreast of all public and national movements that he knew the critical moment to advance money required. He was always generous, and always on the side of freedom. There are nations at this moment only now entering on the consolidation of their liberty, who owe all to him, who knew when and how to help. No wonder that in some lands they will drink to his memory on great occasions as they used to drink to his health." (62)

While there are passing references to Melton's trading interests and his investments, the lawyer suggests that the primary source of his employer's fabulous wealth is loaning money at a profit to nations on the brink of overthrowing tyranny.

His nephew and heir, Rupert Sent Leger, is Anglo-Irish-Scottish. The novel opens with his genealogy: Patience Melton, of the English Meltons to which Roger Melton is related, married an Irish Captain named Sent Leger (5); they had one child, a son, who "made an improvident marriage with a Scotch girl," named MacKelpie (6); Rupert Sent Leger is the son and only child of that union. A quarter English, a quarter Irish, and half Scottish, and raised by his Scottish aunt, Janet MacKelpie, Rupert Sent Leger is Stoker's most dramatically heroic protagonist: he is inordinately tall, virtuous, generous, and eminently capable. He has travelled the globe without taking a penny from his English relatives, acquiring skills and knowledge of martial and mystic matters. Roger Melton chooses him as his heir for precisely these qualities, and carries around in his wallet a newspaper clipping with a report on Rupert's prowess:

> He is a man to whom no adventure is too wild or too daring. His reckless bravery is a byword amongst many savage peoples and amongst many others not savages, whose fears are not of material things, but of the world of mysteries in and beyond the grave. He dares not only wild animals and savage men; but has tackled African magic and Indian mysticism. The Psychical Research Society has long exploited his deeds of valiance, and looked upon him as perhaps their most trusted agent or source of discovery. He is in the very prime of life, of almost giant stature and strength, trained to the use of all arms of all countries, inured to every kind of hardship, subtle-minded and resourceful, understanding human nature from its elemental form up. (55)

Rupert is thus able to perform various feats of derring-do as the novel progresses, including gliding down a large tree to save the heroine from three men who have their swords at her throat, saving the Land of the Blue Mountains from a Turkish invasion, and winning the heroine's heart, her father's approval, and the people's devotion.

The ''benevolent colonialism'' of the Land of the Blue Mountains is hence made possible by very Victorian and problematic imperialists: the venture-capitalist who profits on national movements around the globe, and the explorer who reinscribes the division between the hyper-masculine West and the savage East. It is the wealth of one and the masculinity of the other that makes the Land of the Blue Mountains a British outpost. At the end of the novel, when Rupert is made the constitutional monarch of the Land, the reasons for his selection are made explicit. As the Voivode argues for Rupert's accession to the throne, he contends,

> There is but one hope for us – the uniting of the Balkan forces to turn a masterly front to North and West as well as to South and East. Is that a task for old hands to undertake? No; the hands must be young and supple; and the brain subtle, as well as the heart be strong, of whomsoever would dare such an accomplishment.... [Rupert] comes of a great nation, wherein the principle of freedom is a vital principle that quickens all things. That nation has more than once shown to us its friendliness; and doubtless the very fact that an Englishman would become our King, and could carry into our Government the spirit and customs which have made his own country great, would do much to restore the old friendship, and even to create a new one, which would in times of trouble bring British fleets to our waters, and British bayonets to support our handjars [swords].... I know also that he has brought hither a vast fortune, by aid of which he is beginning to strengthen our hands for war.... Witness his late ordering to be built nine other warships of the class that has already done such effective service in overthrowing the Turk. (315–6)

In short, he is strong, he is now (rather oddly in fact) marked as English, and he is rich. As in *The Lair of the White Worm*, the noble hero is rewarded for the sacrifice of his fortune to the greater good with a greater fortune: Adam Salton gets a property with untapped oil reserves, and Rupert Sent Leger gets a country with radium deposits.

Rupert also gets a bride, the eponymous Lady of the Shroud, Teuta. As Glover notes, this marriage is part of the novel's participation in the genre of the national tale.[36] In Teuta, Stoker collapses a variety of images of the nation and national sovereignty. As the Voivode's only child, she is the means by which the monarchy will be transferred, through marriage, after her father's death – an aspect of Teuta's representation that is

reinforced by the similarities Lisa Hopkins has noted between Teuta and Queen Tera in Stoker's *Jewel of Seven Stars* (1903).[37] To reinforce the symbolic implications of her status, "the Head of the Eastern Church of the Blue Mountains" writes that she "must be taken as representing in her own person the glory of the old Serb race, inasmuch as being the only child of the Voivode Vissarion, last male of the princely race" (206). Her peril is the "nation's peril" and she is "what [the people] most adore" (201). Like Morgan's Glorvina, she is both the idealization of national feeling and the guardian of national tradition. She is eminently patriotic (213), bears "the fighting blood of her race" (240), and participates in the freeing of her father from his Turkish captors as well as the charade which protects the nation until Rupert's stewardship. Feigning death with the assistance of drugs and lying, dressed in a shroud, in an open coffin, she hoped to forestall an invasion by Turkey until her father's return (209–10). The discovery of the charade leads to her kidnapping, the capture of her father, and other incursions by Turkey, as well as Rupert's repelling of them under the rallying cry, "Teuta and the Land." Rupert argues that she has "splendidly proved her worthiness to hold any place in the government of the Land" (318–9). But when Rupert asks her to be joint ruler, she declines:

> I am here, not merely as a wife, but as Voivodin of Vissarion, and by the memory of all the noble women of that noble line I feel constrained to a great duty. We women of Vissarion, in all the history of centuries, have never put ourselves forward in rivalry of our lords. . . . I am a wife of the Blue Mountains – as a wife young as yet, but with the blood of forty generations of loyal women in my veins. And it would ill become me, whom my husband honours – wife to the man whom you would honour – to take a part in changing the ancient custom which has been held in honour for all the thousand years, which is the glory of Blue Mountain womanhood. (319)

Thus, while the general impetus of the novel is towards Anglicization, as Jimme E. Cain Jr. has argued,[38] Teuta is represented as a nominal guarantee that the nation's traditions will be preserved despite Rupert Sent Leger's influence. She makes only one change in tradition. Her shroud becomes a new national symbol: "That pattern of frock is likely to become a national dress for loyal women of the Blue Mountains. . . . [T]here is not a soul in the nation that does not love it and honour her for wearing it" (292).

In the specifics of her representation, and her trial in the crypt, Teuta is thus more than the means by which the hero is formally joined to "a beautiful land of priests and mountains" and a reactionary critique

of the New Woman.[39] She is a symbol of the nation on the conventional terms of Irish nationalist discourse. As I argued in Chapter 2, a variety of nationalist texts represent Ireland as a virtuous suffering woman for whom Irish men must rise up in defense; this relationship between people and nation is defined in chivalric terms, but also in sexual terms. In Teuta's first meetings with Rupert, her virtue and suffering are similarly stressed: Rupert refers to "her manifest ignorance of evil," "hereditary dignity," and "terrible fear and suffering" (101). At the same time, the meetings before their marriage are highly eroticized.[40] These sentimental and erotic motives drive Rupert to her rescue, a rescue that initiates a series of events that lead to the repelling of Turkey's plans to invade the Land of the Blue Mountains.

Teuta's rescue from Turkish soldiers not only anticipates and precipitates the Blue Mountains' rescue from Turkey. Teuta's mimicking of death corresponds to a break in her nation's independence and governance. While she is in the crypt, her father, the hereditary ruler, is travelling abroad seeking foreign assistance and the family estate is in the hands of first Roger Melton and then Rupert Sent Leger. Even when she is not drugged and sleeping in the crypt, she is "pale, like the grey pallor of death. Through the still white of her face, which made her look as cold as the wet marble she stood on, her dark eyes seemed to gleam with a strange but enticing lustre" (97): "Attitude and dress and circumstance all conveyed the idea that, though she moved and spoke, she was not quick, but dead" (96). While a captive to the invaders, she is weak and abject: as they race on, her captors are "half dragging, half carrying" her (221); when they pause, "She, shuddering instinctively, withdrew to a remote corner" (221). As she is freed, she has a "triumphant look in her glorious eyes" (227), and then "struggle[s] heroically" to "keep up the terrific pace" of the rescue party (232). Her fear and abjection are not merely responses to violent captors: in the early pages of the novel, she is similarly languid, "fear-mastered" (159), and constrained. When she first appears at Rupert's door, she says she is "dying of cold. And [she has] a deadly fear upon [her] – a deadly fear" (100). On her second visit, she is "more desolate-appearing than ever" and visibly "suffering" (118). When Rupert and Teuta meet under the nation's flag, he finds her "crouching in the shadow of the Castle wall" (154) and remarks that she "looked with eyes of dread as if in some awful way held in thrall" (159). Because of these symptoms, Rupert suspects she is a vampire; the explanation of her willing confinement to the crypt offers a less supernatural explanation for her fear and discomfort. As Victor Sage remarks, "The collapse of the

vampire plot into fantasy leaves the love of Rupert and Teuta a *fact*, and supposedly persuades us that we are in the real world,"[41] but this collapse does not erase. The symbolism of the novel repeatedly aligns Teuta with the nation, and her condition changes with the nation's fortunes. She is a bodily register of the nation's independence, her vivacity a sign of its strength and her pallor a sign of its abjection (recalling Wilde's representation of the East End in *The Picture of Dorian Gray*). Her extreme coldness and desire for warmth at Rupert's fire is mirrored in the repeated representation of the rising nation as being on fire, her expression of trust to Rupert (99) anticipates Rupert's work to gain "the trust of [her] nation" (138), a new "eager look" appears in her eyes (118) after Rupert commits himself to the nation's cause (111), her agreement to marry him while they stand under the nation's flag stresses the political significance of their union, and her tradition-sanctioned subjection to her husband anticipates (and authorizes) the nation's formal subjection to Rupert and, through him, to Britain.

The gender role hailed by Teuta allows this resurrected nation to symbolically assume a subordinate place without actually diminishing the freedom of the nation's men or the continuity of the nation's traditions. The Voivode cedes his claim to the crown and the National Council votes to offer it to Rupert. The Voivode notes in his argument for Rupert that, through his daughter, his "race" "shall flourish in all the lustre of the new Dynasty" (316), maintaining his family's traditional role in the governance of the Blue Mountains – and echoing the Earl's more utopian claims in his concluding letter to *The Wild Irish Girl* (71–2, above). And the coronation draws heavily on longstanding national religious and martial traditions. Even Rupert's now-unqualified Englishness "carr[ies] into [their] Government the spirit and customs which have made his own country great" in order "to restore the old friendship" (315–6), not to revise the nation's policies and laws. Just as Roger Melton helps to finance movements for national liberty (62) and Rupert fights for "the security and consolidation" of the Land of the Blue Mountains (112–3), Britain itself is a defender of liberty – "that mighty Britain whose hand has ever been raised in the cause of freedom" (114).

In this context, the pivot on which most criticism of the novel turns – the revelation that Teuta, despite initial appearances, is not a vampire – is a telling one. It not only "encourages readers to ask questions about personal identity as well as about the relationship between appearance and reality," as Carol A. Senf has argued, and exchanges a supernatural fantasy for a political one, as Sage suggests in his analysis of the novel's

relationship to contemporary Balkan politics.[42] It also translates nationality from death, superstition, and the demonic, to life, contemporary global politics, and romance. Nationalism becomes a key defense: the Voivode's "very name stood for freedom, for nationality, against foreign oppression; and the bold mountaineers were devoted to it, as in other free countries men follow the flag. Such loyalty was a power and a help in the land, for it knew danger in every form; and anything which aided the cohesion of its integers was a natural asset" (47–8). Teuta, along with less metaphorical concepts of nationhood, motivates the political changes of the novel and makes possible the Blue Mountains' generative alliance with Britain. Stoker not only imagines a "benevolent colonialism," but a reconfiguration of empire. His British Empire fights in the cause of freedom, and defends itself by forging alliances with other nations through massive spending and respect for indigenous traditions and national sentiments.

But there is also a practical edge to this resolution of global interests and historical conflicts. While it is not uncommon for Stoker's novels to end with the hero newly rich, the discovery of radium in the Land of the Blue Mountains more specifically recalls the ending of Stoker's early novel, *The Snake's Pass* (1890), in which the newly found wealth is directed towards the recovery of the nation.[43] In *The Snake's Pass*, Stoker's only Irish novel, the final chapter details two discoveries on the hero's land that promise the economic renewal of Ireland: significant limestone deposits and a chest of gold lost by the French during their landing to support the uprising in 1798. "[T]his treasure chest sent by freemen to aid others" is on land owned by the heroine's father, Phelim Joyce: "Take it I will, an' gladly; but not for meself. The money was sent for Ireland's good – to help them that wanted help, an' plase God! I'll see it does'nt go asthray now!"[44] The limestone is directed towards the same purpose, its discovery at the end of the novel anticipated by Sutherland's hopeful vision:

> A limestone quarry here would be pretty well as valuable as a gold mine. Nearly all these promontories on the western coast of Ireland are of slate or granite, and here we have not got lime within thirty miles. With a quarry on the spot, we can not only build cheap and reclaim our own bog, but we can supply five hundred square miles of country with the rudiments of prosperity, and at a nominal price compared with what they pay now![45]

Stoker is not alone in imagining mineral resources as the means for achieving national renewal. In 1845, with the Great Famine looming, Thomas D'Arcy McGee invoked "the immense fund of mineral wealth

which lies unemployed beneath the feet of the idle and half-starving peasantry" and details at length a number of extensive coal fields in Ireland.[46] But in both *The Snake's Pass* and *The Lady of the Shroud*, it is an outsider who discovers the wealth and who forges a connection to the land through a woman who is native to it. In *The Snake's Pass*, the owner of the land with the limestone deposits, the narrator and protagonist Arthur Severn, marries Norah Joyce – who discovers, in a cave hewn out of the limestone vein, "an ancient crown of strange form," purportedly the crown hidden by the King of the Snakes after his confrontation with St. Patrick (see the epigraph to this chapter).[47] In these texts, then, Stoker imagines economic renewal following on the heels of the national tale's imagining of political union through marriage. Or, rather, he imagines political concessions finding compensation in financial viability. The promise of 1798, in which the French were to aid the nationalist uprising, is rediscovered in *The Snake's Pass*, but is reshaped as a financial promise – the chest of gold carried by two lone French soldiers and limestone deposits that late Victorian science can make profitable. Similiarly, the traditional sovereignty of the Land of the Blue Mountains is reinvigorated by Melton's wealth and the radium deposits that modern technology now makes valuable, while British sovereignty is symbolically reestablished in *The Lair of the White Worm* by the substitution of the primeval threat with newly lucrative oil reserves.

In Wilde's and Stoker's novels, there is a recurring concern with the romance-figure of the unfathered son who must, like Edgeworth's orphans, find a place in the social order. In Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, Dorian is at the mercy of a tyrannical grandfather, Kelso, believed to be responsible for Dorian's orphan status:

> The poor chap [Dorian's father] was killed in a duel at Spa a few months after the marriage. There was an ugly story about it. They said Kelso got some rascally adventurer, some Belgian brute, to insult his son-in-law in public, paid him, sir, to do it, paid him, and that the fellow spitted his man as if he had been a pigeon. . . . He brought his daughter back with him, I was told, and she never spoke to him again. Oh, yes; it was a bad business. The girl died too, died within a year. (32–3)

In *The Lady of the Shroud* and *The Lair of the White Worm*, Stoker's heroes are also fatherless but they are protected by benevolent English relatives. Suggestively, there are strong parallels between Dorian's father and Rupert's. Dorian's father is a soldier of a lower class than Dorian's mother, and specifically a "subaltern" (32); he was a "penniless young

fellow, a mere nobody'' (32). Rupert Sent Leger's father, too, ''was only a subaltern'' and, on his death, ''his wife was left a beggar'' (7). This is not the place to add to discussions of the strong connections between Stoker's and Wilde's writings.[48] That the two authors were friends and shared the position of being Irish writers living outside of Ireland at a time when an Irish brogue was still an object of racist remark is well-established. What I wish to stress here is rather their shared emphasis on protagonists whose fathers are absent and impoverished – a family situation with precursors in the romance tradition, but also with compelling echoes of Edgeworth's orphans.[49] By submitting to his abusive grandfather and turning, at Henry's instigation, publicly from the East End (in the figure of Sybil Vane) while privately participating in its exploitation, Dorian preserves his access to his grandfather's wealth and secures his social status. He is, like the artifacts in the collection over which he fawns, incorporated within the prevailing ideology through the elision of his (paternal) roots. And, like those artifacts, in the transition from abject culture to *objet d'art* he is, like the oriental jewels discussed above, reduced to immediate aesthetic response and capitalist value, becoming haunted on terms that disrupt, and even contaminate, English society. Stoker alternatively offers a fantasy of assimilation in which difference is valued rather than elided. Rupert Sent Leger receives not only the wealth of the metropole, but a privileged place in the new empire of global relations: he is a king who secures the ''eastern road'' for the grateful English. Adam Salton is allowed to settle in the English countryside, and buy, with his new wealth, a piece of English history in the form of the ancient house in Diana's Grove. The colonial son is adopted and rewarded by the English father because his coloniality represents much-needed masculine vigor and new knowledge rather than cultural abjection. As Irish Home Rule loomed on the horizon, Stoker imagines the arrival of Edgeworth's always-deferred conclusion: the colonial orphan is allowed to enter fully the category of Englishness.[50]

Conclusion: The Wild Irish Boy in India

> "There is a white boy by the barracks waiting under a tree who is not a white boy."
>
> Rudyard Kipling, *Kim* (1901)

In 1901, Rudyard Kipling published one of the more famous and widely discussed imperialist texts of the late Victorian period: *Kim*. The title character is a child who is devoted to a Tibetan lama and reluctant to attend an English-run school, but is happy to spy for the British Raj. He is, moreover, uniquely fitted to act as a spy in India because he has been raised in India among Indians, rather than in British enclaves, and so can "pass" as Indian. But Kipling's *Kim*, as I would like to argue here by way of concluding my larger study, is the product not only of the Indian Mutiny of 1857–1858 and the consolidation of British power in Victorian India, but also of the cultural threads that I have been tracing which both align and carefully distinguish between Ireland and India as colonized spaces. Kim is Irish – in many regards a "wild Irish boy" because uneducated and largely unparented[1] – and the specifics of Kipling's representation of Kim seek to detach useful Irish characteristics from the Irish context in order to put them to work in the Indian context.

While postcolonial readings have generally conflated Kim with the British and, more recently, represented him as a figure of whiteness, Kipling specifies Kim's Irishness and on terms that necessarily complicate his alignment with imperial hegemony.[2] In the second paragraph of the novel, we are told that he is the son of a "nursemaid in a colonel's family" who "had married Kimball O'Hara, a young colour-sergeant of the Mavericks, an Irish regiment."[3] O'Hara became an opium addict and "died as poor whites die in India" (1). When Kim is "wildly" "excited" and beginning his attachment to the lama, the reader is given a succinct explanation: "Kim's mother had been Irish too" (12).[4] Irishness is later invoked again as the cause of his impulsive behaviour. Thus, for instance, "he was

Irish enough by birth to reckon silver the least part of any game. What he desired was the visible effect of action'' (36) and his truancy is enough to make a priest lament, ''An' now he's off with another of his peep-o'-day friends'' (107) – the Peep O' Day boys being the name of a late-eighteenth-century Irish Protestant group that was broadly vigilante in motive and action. Numerous passages do support Satya P. Mohanty's argument that Kim ''is a white boy who can discard his color at will or whim. He lives and sleeps and eats in the open social world of colonial India . . . but his identity is never something that ties him down.''[5] However, Kipling's periodic reminders of Kim's Irishness as the essential ground of the boy's character serve to undermine Kim's claim to the autonomy of the imperial subject by representing him as passionate to the point of unruliness.

Irishness renders Kim's whiteness a relative (and often obscured) absence of colour rather than an absolute identifier: '' 'Well, I believe in miracles, so it comes to the same thing. Powers of Darkness! Kimball O'Hara! And his son! But then he's a native, and I saw Kimball married myself to Annie Shott.' . . . Father Victor stepped forward and opened the front of Kim's upper garment. 'You see, Bennett, he's not very black' '' (85–6). In this suggestive passage, Kipling moves fluidly between two rubrics for establishing identity: a colonial rubric that evaluates skintone and a metropolitan rubric that is based not on race but on parentage. The witness's assurance that he ''saw Kimball married . . . to Annie Shott'' grants Kim a legitimate birth and a verifiable ancestry, the pivot on which many a Victorian domestic novel turns its plot. Like the birthmark of romance that identifies the hero as a lost royal son, Kim's ''not very black'' patches of skin allow him to be recognized as the legitimate son of a military man loyal to Britain if not British himself. The patchwork of skintones multiply identify Kim: he is a legitimate European scion, a white boy, and a child who can ''pass'' for Indian because of exposure to the sun. Moreover, whiteness itself is multiply defined. While the narrator has a complicated notion of whiteness and its subdivisions (invoking ''poor whites'' as a separate category, for instance) and repeatedly places Kim on a low rung in that hierarchy, the Irish child raised in India only knows one category of whiteness – ''a Sahib'' (88).

As Kim spends more time with the British and Irish officers, his identity becomes a thorny problem for him as well:

''Sahibs get little pleasure of travel,'' he reflected. ''*Hai mai*! I go from one place to another as it might be a kick-ball. It is my *Kismet*. No man escapes his *Kismet*. But am I to pray to Bibi Miriam, and I am a Sahib'' – he looked at his boots ruefully. ''No; I am Kim. This is the great world, and I am only Kim.

> Who is Kim?" He considered his own identity, a thing he had never done before, till his head swam. He was one insignificant person in all this roaring whirl of India. (117–8)
>
> he felt, though he could not put it into words, that his soul was out of gear with his surroundings – a cog-wheel unconnected with any machinery. . . . "I am Kim. I am Kim. And what is Kim?" His soul repeated it again and again. (282)

Despite the frequent references to Kim's Irishness, he is also otherwise defined: "Kim was English" in his alliance with the ruling class of India (1), as well as "the son of a Mason" who cannot be allowed to travel with the lama (88). With Kim, then, Kipling represents an Irish boy, "a poor white of the very poorest" (1), who is useful to British colonial forces because he has the impulses of a loyal Irishman but the language, general appearance, and cultural skills of an Indian – but such a useful mediator is always betwixt and between, neither Indian nor Irish nor English, neither "black" nor "white," but an uneven patchwork.[6] Thus, in *Kim*, Kipling responds to many of the cultural trends discussed in the preceding chapters. While Moore's and Morgan's characters are attached to their native religions via familial and community affections, Kim's orphan status means that he has been unable to form such attachments. Recalling Immalee's confusion over her identity after her return to Spain in *Melmoth the Wanderer*, he belongs neither to the place in which he has been raised nor the place from which his parents come. But, like Edgeworth's and Stoker's orphaned protagonists, Kim is ready to form new allegiances. He has no clear notion of his Irishness and even thinks his father "came from" "England" (103). He has no political associations, religious attachments, or familial interests to defend, and is unaware of what it means to be specified as Irish.

Ungrounded, he is a master mimic:

> Kim was apparelled variously as a young Mohammedan of good family, an oilman, and once – which was a joyous evening – as the son of an Oudh landholder in the fullest of full dress. . . . The Hindu child played this game clumsily. That little mind, keen as an icicle where tally of jewels was concerned, could not temper itself to enter another's soul; but a demon in Kim woke up and sang with joy as he put on the changing dresses, and changed speech and gesture therewith. (159)

Because of his abilities as a mimic, he can both be trained as a British spy and assume various Indian guises; loosed of the specifics of Irish identification, namely religious affiliation, nationalist desire, and community affections, he is a malleable liminal figure who can effectively mediate between and operate in both the Indian and British spheres. His unbending

attachment to the lama is an emptied out form of Catholic devotion as well as the ongoing sign of Irish feeling; it is thus explained with the otherwise jarring sentence, "Kim's mother had been Irish too" (12), a tacit invocation of the connection of national feeling and religion to Irishwomen. In short, Kim is Irish in character but freed of history, born and initially raised outside of the colonial time in which civilizing progress struggles against nationalist nostalgia; free of colonial history, he can work for the British notion of progress.

Outside of colonial time, Kim operates at the level of the contingent, responding spontaneously to fluid and uncertain circumstances. There is none of Wilde's imperial guilt here, of course, but there is also none of Stoker's romance in which the colonial hybrid becomes a hero to the metropole. The work of surveillance and management is ongoing, and while Kim is unique he is not solitary – he is part of a spy network rather than a leader and an idiosyncrasy rather than the forerunner of a new age. In *Kim*, then, Kipling reworks the Edgeworthian orphan to take similar advantage of the orphan's dehistoricization and the Irish subject's loyalty and proximity to Englishness, but directs those features towards the unending romance of imperial struggle – the "white man's burden" as Kipling notoriously put it – instead of the exemplary capitalist romance of personal success.[7] The post-Enlightenment subject, perfectable through education and moral through feeling, gives way to the more deterministic subjects of Victorian thought and the empire after the Indian uprising of 1857–1858 – always imperfect but manageable through increasingly effective surveillance. If Kim resolves the irreducible separation of "this" from "the Other" in Barrell's model through his placement within the mobile category of "that," he does so only contingently. While mimicry can move him temporarily towards Englishness or Indianness when it serves British interests, he remains essentially neither – Kim remains the son of Kimball and Annie O'Hara who prefers to wander with the lama than stay in the British-run school, more comfortable in India than the world of the Sahib and so no threat to that world.

But Kim also remains, as critics have pointed out, an adolescent. If we consider Kim's youth as a metaphor for Ireland's position within the empire rather than as a symbol of the adolescence of empire itself,[8] the novel's refusal to consider Kim as an adult, even after his successes in the Great Game, echoes the imperial reluctance to consider the colonial peoples as mature and capable of independence.[9] As Adam Smith insists, "Self-command is not only itself a great virtue, but from it all the other virtues seem to derive their principal lustre" (*Theory*, 241); on the national

level, "self-command" requires political sovereignty, sovereignty that is defended by self-commanding subjects. In one of his volleys against the Act of Union, Drennan thus declares that the threat of "abolish[ing] the legislative independence of this Kingdom" "call[s]" "every Irishman . . . by every predominant duty human or divine."[10] He also accuses, "By birth, breeding, and bigotry a Briton, he ['the British Minister'] fears that the Irish infant of 82 may come to maturity, and he would stifle it in his cradle. He fears the natural development of its capacities and powers."[11] Kim, the text frequently reminds us, must be at school, or at least supervised by an adult. Kipling's novel thus calls attention to the emphasis in a number of other narratives considered in this study on characters who attain a form of maturity that is marked by self-discipline and social affections, whether Luxima defending Hilarion from the point of a dagger, or Hafed giving up love to lead his nation, or the Rajah alienating himself from his family and home in the name of conversion, or Mimi defending her sister, or Prince Abdul Calie rejecting his father's mode of rule for English examples. Time and again, the colonized subject from the "East" in Irish texts attains the maturity and "self-command" of the idealized subject of sensibility and thus not only has a claim to Irish sympathy but also tacitly shares the Irish claim to sovereignty. There are, of course, variations on this theme: in Edgeworth and Stoker, for instance, such claims function within a British empire rather than seek to operate outside of it. Nevertheless, Irish writing about India in the Romantic period and later the "East" in general reveals an ongoing concern with the colonized subject's capacity for self-command and, by extension, the nation's capacity for self-rule – as well as the converse, the loss of self-possession that threatens the imperial subject, as we saw in "The Anaconda" and the obsessed aristocrats of Stoker's and Wilde's fiction. Sensibility thus not only forms a basis for sympathy between colonized nations, but also for shared arguments for political autonomy.

Sensibility, in other words, lays the ethical foundation for political sovereignty and the morality of claiming that sovereignty. The nation must, almost by definition, be a feeling nation. The unfeeling nation is immoral and so, in Enlightenment logic, ungoverned – unable to rule others or itself. Thus, nineteenth-century imperial discourse fosters the representation of colonized spaces as insensible: from John Melmoth's uncle accusing his Irish housekeeper of being "heartless" (*MW*, 52) to Horatio's dismissal of Ireland with "disgust," and from the petty tyranny of Edgeworth's Sultan Tipu to the scenes of infanticide witnessed by the Wanderer. And, by the same logic, nineteenth-century anti-imperial

discourse fosters the representation of subjects associated with empire as insensible: the damned Wanderer, the ennui-ridden Horatio, the aesthete Dorian Gray, the mad Caswall, and the unparental Castlereagh. In the complex and dynamic positioning of Ireland during the expansion and consolidation of the British Empire, autonomy is often claimed or denied on this sentimental basis. Irish writing about India, and British writing about Ireland and India, reveals the ways in which such claims, and denials, operate on relative terms. Ireland is neither Britain nor India. But, in cultural and historical similarities to and differences from each, literary arguments can be put forth about precisely where it does stand between the European metropole and the imperial periphery. That these arguments do not cohere into a particular view, placing Ireland at myriad points between the categories of "West-Britain" and distant colony, makes clear not only the difficulty of positioning Ireland within the binaries of imperial discourse but also the political and cultural imperative to make the attempt. Nations and empires, particularly when they follow the logic of Enlightenment discourse, need clear-cut divisions of self/other, inside/outside, and governed/governing. But Ireland, as a European colony populated by "barbarous" Christians, unsettles such divisions and thwarts such desires on terms that can tell us much about the ways in which imperial discourse and nationalism strained against their own geopolitical and cultural limits.

Notes

INTRODUCTION: INSENSIBLE EMPIRE

1 See Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. T. Burger and F. Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989); and, for a useful examination for my purposes here, Paul Keen, *The Crisis of Literature in the 1790s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

2 See Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982); Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987); Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973); Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

3 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979). *Orientalism* has, of course, been widely challenged in recent years by scholars who would extend, complicate, or revise some of its details; the critical force and utility of Said's general argument, however, remain.

4 See Joep Leerssen, "Irish Studies and *Orientalism*: Ireland and the Orient," in *Oriental Prospects: Western Literature and the Lure of the East*, ed. C. C. Barfoot and Theo D'haen (Atlanta: Rodopi, 1998), 161–73.

5 *An Irish Empire? Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. Keith Jeffery (New York: Manchester University Press, 1996); Stephen Howe, *Ireland and Empire: Colonial Legacies in Irish History and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

6 Leerssen, "Irish Studies," 164.

7 On Mazzini's position on Ireland, see R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600–1972* (London: Penguin, 1989), 312. The Young Irelanders invoked Mazzini and other Italian nationalists despite a general ambiguity about the title "Young Ireland"; see Richard Davis, *The Young Ireland Movement* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1987), 56–7. For Irish literary invocations of Italian nationalism, see, for instance, Lady Jane Wilde's long poem, *Ugo Bassi: A Tale of Italian Revolution* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1857).

8 Leerssen, "Irish Studies," 164*n*.

9 The enslavement of the Irish in the West Indies for a short period in the mid-1600s further complicates the distinctions Linda Colley traces between "white slaves and captives in North Africa" (which also included Irish men and women) "and black plantation slaves across the Atlantic"; see Linda Colley, *Captives* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2002), 59.

10 Joel Berlatsky. "Roots of Conflict in Ireland: Colonial Attitudes in the Age of the Penal Laws," *Éire-Ireland* 18 (1983), 41.

11 David Lloyd, *Nationalism and Minor Literature: James Clarence Mangan and the Emergence of Irish Cultural Nationalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 123.

12 See J. Th. Leerssen, "On the Edge of Europe: Ireland in Search of Oriental Roots, 1650–1850," *Comparative Criticism* 8 (1986), 91–112; Leerssen, "Irish Studies"; and particularly Joseph Lennon's historically comprehensive study, *Irish Orientalism: A Literary and Intellectual History* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004).

13 Luke Gibbons, *Edmund Burke and Ireland: Aesthetics, Politics and the Colonial Sublime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 99.

14 Ibid., 107.

15 The meaning of literacy, Christianity, race, and gender, among others, were, of course, the subject of much debate as well as ideological sea-changes. For a useful general overview of the long and complex history of "whiteness" in Western discourse, see Gary Taylor, *Buying Whiteness: Race, Culture, and Identity from Columbus to Hip-Hop* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). For foundational discussions of Irishness in relation to race, see, for instance, Luke Gibbons, "Race Against Time: Racial Discourse and Irish History," *Oxford Literary Review* 12 (1991), 95–117; Seamus Deane, "Civilians and Barbarians," in *Ireland's Field Day*, Field Day Theatre Company (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986), 33–42; and Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

16 Leerssen, "Irish Studies," 167.

17 Reina Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity and Representation* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 4.

18 William Drennan, *A Letter to the Right Honorable William Pitt* (Dublin: James Moore, 1799), 47.

19 John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 325.

20 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn. (New York: Verso, 1991); Anthony D. Smith, "Neo-Classicist and Romantic Elements in the Emergence of Nationalist Conceptions," in *Nationalist Movements*, ed. Anthony D. Smith (London: Macmillan Press, 1976), 74–87; Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983).

21 On Locke and modern nationalism, see, for instance, Ruth W. Grant, *John Locke's Liberalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 99–136; and

David Resnick, "John Locke and Liberal Nationalism," *History of European Ideas* 15 (1992), 511–7.

22 For a nuanced overview of the ways in which historians of the early modern period locate Ireland within different regional models – comparing the Irish to Native Americans, Ireland as part of what later scholars term the "transatlantic" space, Ireland as part of an archipelago of islands – furthers our understanding beyond the limits of the one-nation-in-conflict-with-another approach, see Andrew Murphy, "Revising Criticism: Ireland and the British Model," in *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature*, ed. David J. Baker and Willy Maley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 24–33.

23 Sensibility has been the subject of much recent criticism, too much to list here, but see, to take just a few select examples from the works most influential on the present study, Steven Bruhm, *Gothic Bodies: The Politics of Pain in Romantic Fiction* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994); *Sensibility in Transformation: Creative Resistance to Sentiment from the Augustans to the Romantics*, ed. Syndy McMillen Conger (Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1990); Markman Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility: Race, Gender and Commerce in the Sentimental Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Gibbons, *Edmund Burke*; Jerome McGann, *The Poetics of Sensibility: A Revolution in Poetic Style* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); John Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); Janet Todd, *Sensibility: An Introduction* (New York: Methuen, 1986); and Ann Jessie Van Sant, *Eighteenth-century Sensibility and the Novel: The Senses in Social Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

24 For further discussion of Morgan and Locke, see Julia M. Wright, "National Erotics and Political Theory in Morgan's *The O'Briens and the O'Flahertys*," *European Romantic Review* 15 (2004), 229–41.

25 Drennan, *Letter to the Right Honorable William Pitt*, 46. The Act of Union abolished the Irish Parliament and transferred parliamentary representation to a new block of Irish seats in the British Parliament. It thus ended even the apparent autonomy of the Irish Parliament and the nationalist claim of the 1780s and 1790s that the British and Irish Parliaments were equal under the monarch.

26 Ibid., 43.

27 Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 85–92; Thomas Davis, "Ballad Poetry of Ireland," *Thomas Davis: Selections from his Prose and Poetry*, ed. T. W. Rolleston (New York: AMS Press, 1982), 209.

28 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 85, 90.

29 Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 63.

30 I allude here to Seamus Deane, *Strange Country: Modernity and Nationhood in Irish Writing Since 1790* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) and David

Lloyd, *Anomalous States: Irish Writing and the Post-Colonial Moment* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993).

31 Sara Suleri, *The Rhetoric of British India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 11.

32 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 70.

33 See Louis Perry Curtis, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971); Deane, *Strange Country.*

34 McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 53.

35 Thomas Meagher, "Speech at the Galway Election, Feb., 1847," in *The Orations of Thomas Meagher*, second series, Supplement to *The Nation* (3 July 1852), 22.

36 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 88.

37 Srinivas Aravamudan, *Tropicopolitans: Colonialism and Agency, 1688–1804* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 14.

38 Thomas Sheridan, *The Brave Irishman* (also known as *Captain O'Blunder*), in *Ten English Farces*, ed. Leo Hughes and A. H. Scouten (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), 227.

39 Alicia Lefanu, *The Sons of Erin*, 3rd edn. (London: Ridgway, 1812).

40 John Barrell, *The Infection of Thomas De Quincey: A Psychopathology of Imperialism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 10–11.

41 I take the term "passing" from critical race studies. See, for instance, Elaine Ginsberg, ed., *Passing and the Fictions of Identity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996).

42 Althusser argues that interpellated subjects " 'work by themselves' in the vast majority of cases, with the exception of the 'bad subjects' who on occasion provoke the intervention of one of the detachments of the (repressive) State apparatus"; in other words, their thorough and tacit acceptance of the dominant ideology ensures their unreflective obedience to and reproduction of its interests and dictates. See Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation)," *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, trans. Ben Brewster and intro. Frederic Jameson (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001), 123.

43 For a discussion of such representations of Ireland, see Seamus Deane's influential "Civilians and Barbarians." For one of the more interesting examples of this discourse, see Count Cavour's *Considerations on the Present State and Future Prospects of Ireland*, translated from the French, by a Friend to Ireland (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1845). Daniel O'Connell is painted as a complex figure, with an inclination towards opportunism in the pursuit of a sectarian goal that makes him an unstable factor in Irish politics: "Employing a thousand different means which he knows how to multiply, and vary to infinity according to the exigencies of the moment, he ever follows the same objects, – the political restoration of his co-religionists and of his country" (51). Alternatively, "The peaceable and orderly conduct of the Irish ever since the formation of the Melbourne ministry, bears ample testimony to the progress which that people has made in

the path of true civilisation" under British tutelage (52). For representations of India on such terms, see, for instance, such government publications as Charles Grant's *Observations, On the State of Society Among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals; and on the means of improving it.—Written chiefly in the Year 1792* (Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 15 June 1813) and the more notorious orientalist texts of the day, such as Robert Southey's *Thalaba the Destroyer* (1801), James Mill's *History of British India* (1817), and Philip Meadows Taylor's *Confessions of a Thug* (1839).

44 James Clarence Mangan, "The Peal of Another Trumpet," *Poems of James Clarence Mangan (Many Hitherto Uncollected)*, ed. D. J. O'Donaghue (Dublin: M. H. Gill, 1922), 111. All future references to Mangan's poetry will be taken from this edition, hereafter abbreviated *Poems*.

45 Leerssen, "On the Edge of Europe."

46 On such specular discriminations, see Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 66–84.

47 Gibbons, *Edmund Burke*, 107.

48 Ibid., 107, 115.

49 Ibid., 105, 106.

50 Henry Home (Lord Kames), *Sketches of the History of Man* (1774) 4 vols. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1968), II: 246.

51 Ibid., II: 317–18.

52 Adam Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) (rpt. New York: Kelley, 1966), 9, 205; emphasis added.

53 On the pathologization of sensibility in the Victorian period, see *Nervous Reactions: Victorian Recollections of Romanticism*, ed. Joel Faflak and Julia M. Wright (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004).

54 Nancy Roberts, *Schools of Sympathy: Gender and Identification Through the Novel* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997).

55 Alexander Dow, "Dissertation on the Origin of Despotism in Indostan," *The History of Hindostan, Translated from the Persian*, 3 vols. (Dublin: Luke White, 1792), III: xci.

56 See, for instance, Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

57 Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830–1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), especially 227–53.

58 See, for instance, Gauri Viswanathan, "Raymond Williams and British Colonialism," *Yale Journal of Criticism* 4 (1991), 47–67; and Suleri, *Rhetoric of British India*.

59 Suleri, *Rhetoric of British India*, 10.

60 The pairing of Kipling's *Kim* and Forster's *A Passage to India* has been virtually canonical since Said referred to both in passing in the final chapter of *Orientalism*. See, for example, Teresa Hubel, *Whose India? The Independence Struggle in British and Indian Fiction and History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996); Balachandra Rajan, *Under Western Eyes: India from Milton to Macaulay* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999);

Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Random House, 1993); and Suleri, *Rhetoric of British India*.

"National feeling" and unfeeling empire: the politics of sensibility

1 See Jean Gottman, *The Significance of Territory* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1973), 95; and Anthony D. Smith, "Neo-Classicist and Romantic Elements," 74–5, 81. Bhabha complicates this concept of nationalism by pointing out the ruptures within nationalist discourse, but still suggests that it is the goal of the nationalist enterprise to produce such a " 'totalization' of national culture," Introduction, in *Nation and Narration*, ed. Homi K. Bhabha (New York: Routledge, 1990), 3. Anderson's definition is much broader: "it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign," *Imagined Communities*, 6.

2 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 5.

3 See Julia M. Wright, " 'The Nation Begins to Form': Competing Nationalisms in Morgan's *The O'Briens and the O'Flahertys*," *ELH* 66 (1999), 939–63.

4 John Corry, "The Patriot: A Poem," *Odes and Elegies, Descriptive and Sentimental, with The Patriot: A Poem* (Newry: R. Moffet, 1797), 113–59.

5 Mary Ellen Brown, *Burns and Tradition* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 27.

6 On Welsh antiquarianism in the Romantic period, see Lionel Madden, " 'Terrestrial Paradise': The Welsh Dimension in Peacock's Life and Work," *Keats-Shelley Memorial Bulletin* 36 (1985), 48–51.

7 Friedrich Schiller, *On the Naive and Sentimental in Literature* (1795), ed. Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly (Manchester: Carcanet New Press, 1981), 21.

8 Anthony D. Smith, "Neo-Classicist and Romantic Elements," 83.

9 In 1805, Scott wrote that Macpherson's Ossianic poems "flattered" Scottish "national vanity" even though they were frauds because they demonstrated that Scotland could produce influential poetry; quoted in Fiona J. Stafford, " 'Dangerous Success': Ossian, Wordsworth, and English Romantic Literature," in *Ossian Revisited*, ed. Howard Gaskill (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), 50.

10 See Leerssen, "On the Edge of Europe."

11 Sylvester O'Halloran, Dedication, *The History of Ireland* (1774) (London: Martin, 1845), vi. See also Charlotte Brooke, Preface, *Reliques of Irish Poetry* (1789) (Gainesville: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1970), iii–x.

12 Brooke, Preface, *Reliques of Irish Poetry*, vii.

13 Ibid., viii.

14 (Sydney Owenson) Lady Morgan, *The Wild Irish Girl: A National Tale*, ed. Kathryn Kirkpatrick (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1999), 62*n*.

15 On United Irishmen publications, see Nancy Curtin's valuable study, *The United Irishmen: Popular Politics in Ulster and Dublin, 1791–1798* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).
16 See W. J. McCormack's work on the Ascendancy, including "The Genesis of Protestant Ascendancy," in *1789: Reading Writing Revolution*, ed. Francis Barker, Jay Bernstein, Peter Hulme, Margaret Iversen, and Jennifer Stone (Colchester: University of Essex, 1982), 302–23.
17 Marianne Elliott, *Partners in Revolution: The United Irishmen and France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), xvii.
18 Quoted in *A Full Report of the Trial at Bar in the Court of King's Bench, of William Drennan, MD Upon an Indictment Charging Him with Having Written and Published a Seditious Libel with the Speeches of Counsel, and the Opinions of the Court at Large* (Dublin: Rea and Johnson, 1794), rpt. in *The Trial of William Drennan*, ed. John Francis Larkin (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1991), 41. On the significance of "reintegration" to romantic nationalism, see Maurice Pearton, "Notions in Nationalism," *Nations and Nationalism* 2 (1996), 1–15.
19 In outlining Thomas Moore's suspicion of the United Irishmen's agenda, Nigel Leask uses this phrase to describe their politics, *British Romantic Writers and the East: Anxieties of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 113. On Moore's involvement with and support of the United Irishmen, see Mary Helen Thuente, *The Harp Re-Strung: The United Irishmen and the Rise of Literary* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994), 171–92.
20 William Drennan, "Erin," *Fugitive Pieces in Verse and Prose* (Belfast: F. D. Finlay, 1815), 2.
21 Jonah Barrington, *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation* (Paris: Bennis, 1833), 335.
22 Thomas Moore, *Memoirs of Captain Rock* (1824) (rpt., New York: AMS Press, 1978), 362.
23 Joseph W. Lew, "Sidney Owenson and the Fate of Empire," *Keats-Shelley Journal* 39 (1990), 62.
24 Morgan, *The Wild Irish Girl*, 120; Sydney Owenson (Lady Morgan), *The Lay of an Irish Harp; Or, Metrical Fragments* (1807) (Philadelphia: Manning, n.d.), 17*n*.
25 Sydney Morgan, *The O'Briens and the O'Flahertys* (London: Pandora Press, 1988), 157.
26 Maria Edgeworth with Richard Lovell Edgeworth, *Essay on Irish Bulls*, in Vol. 4 of *Tales and Novels*, by Maria Edgeworth (New York: AMS Press, 1967), 185, 186; hereafter cited parenthetically in the text and abbreviated *Essay*. For an excellent overview of the *Essay*, see Mitzi Myers, "Goring John Bull: Maria Edgeworth's Hibernian High Jinks versus the Imperialist Imaginary," in *Cutting Edges: Postmodern Critical Essays on Eighteenth-Century Satire*, ed. James E. Gill (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 367–94.
27 See Brian Cleeve, *Dictionary of Irish Writers*, Second Series: Non-Fiction (Cork: Mercier Press, 1969), 107.
28 Lloyd, *Anomalous States*, 10.

29 Review of *Speeches of the Right Honourable John Philpot Curran, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, on the late very interesting State Trials, &c.* (2nd edn., 1808), *Edinburgh Review* 13 (October 1808), 136–7.

30 Brooke, Preface, *Reliques of Irish Poetry*, viii.

31 Brooke's choice of "Britain" and the Edgeworths' decision to use "England" is also, of course, implicated in this tracing of cultural hybridity and purity.

32 Adam Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 60; hereafter *Theory* and cited parenthetically.

33 Smith here recalls Hume's essay, "Of National Characters" (1742), in *Essays: Moral, Political, and Literary*, ed. Eugene F. Miller (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1985), 197–215.

34 See, for an illustrative example, "Of a National Character in Literature," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 3 (September 1818), 707–9.

35 Charles Hamilton Teeling, *Observations on the History and Consequences of the "Battle of the Diamond"* (Belfast: John Hodgson, 1838), 6.

36 Charles Hamilton Teeling, *Personal Narrative of the "Irish Rebellion" of 1798* (London: Henry Colburn, 1828), republished as *History of the Irish Rebellion of 1798: A Personal Narrative* (Glasgow: Cameron and Ferguson, 1876), and rpt. in *History of the Irish Rebellion of 1798 and Sequel to the History of the Irish Rebellion of 1798* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1972), 52. All future references are given parenthetically in the text.

37 "Original Declaration of the United Irishmen," rpt. in Teeling, *History of the Irish Rebellion*, 141; *Full Report*, 41; emphases added.

38 See Bruhm, *Gothic Bodies*; Ellis, *Politics of Sensibility*; Thomas J. McCarthy, *Relationships of Sympathy: The Writer and the Reader in British Romanticism*; (Aldershot, England: Scolar Press, 1997) and McGann, *Poetics of Sensibility.*

39 David Hume, *An Inquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals* (1751), ed. Charles W. Hendel (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1957), 107. All further references are incorporated parenthetically.

40 Percy Bysshe Shelley, "A Defence of Poetry," *Shelley's Poetry and Prose*, ed. Donald H. Reiman and Sharon B. Powers (New York: Norton, 1977), 487–8.

41 Drennan, *Letter to the Right Honorable William Pitt*, 27; Ernest Renan, "What is a Nation?" (1882), trans. Martin Thom, in *Nation and Narration*, ed. Homi K. Bhabha (New York: Routledge, 1991), 19.

42 Norman Vance, *Irish Literature: A Social History: Tradition, Identity, and Difference* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 87.

43 Morgan, *The O'Briens and the O'Flahertys*, xv.

44 Adeline Johns-Putra, "Satirising the Courtly Woman and Defending the Domestic Woman: Mock Epics and Women Poets in the Romantic Age," *Romanticism On the Net* 15 (August 1999) 5 April 2003 http://users.ox.ac.uk/~scat0385/courtly.html.

45 Elizabeth Ryves, "Ode to Sensibility," *Poems on Several Occasions* (London: J. Dodsley, 1777), 20–1.

46 Gibbons, *Edmund Burke*, 99.

47 Ibid., 111.

48 Drennan, "Hymn VI," *Fugitive Pieces*, 139.

49 William Drennan, *Protest from One of the People of Ireland, Against an Union with Great Britain* (Dublin: George Folingsby, 1800), 7; this text was republished as "Protest Against an Union with Great Britain" in Drennan's *Fugitive Pieces*.

50 Drennan, *Letter to the Right Honorable William Pitt*, 23–4. This passage gives a small taste of Drennan's philosophical and rhetorical sophistication, using the moral principles of Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* to challenge Smith's materialist concerns in *The Wealth of Nations* while revising Smith's account of savagery to make it an effect of oppression.

51 Anon., *The Matron of Erin: A National Tale*, 3 vols. (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1816), I: 21.

52 Kevin Whelan, "The United Irishmen, the Enlightenment and Popular Culture," in *The United Irishmen: Republicanism, Radicalism and Rebellion*, ed. David Dickson, Dáire Keogh, and Kevin Whelan (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1993), 285. For a more expansive discussion of Teeling's use of the prison as a metonym for the state, as well as his use of sensibility to articulate "national feeling," see my essay, " 'National Feeling' and the Colonial Prison: Teeling's *Personal Narrative*," *Captivating Subjects: Writing Confinement, Citizenship and Nationhood in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Jason Haslam and Julia M. Wright (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 175–98.

53 Elliott, *Partners in Revolution*, 107.

54 Thuente, *The Harp Re-Strung*, 194. On Teeling's credibility as an historian, see Louis M. Cullen, "The Internal Politics of the United Irishmen," in *The United Irishmen: Republicanism, Radicalism and Rebellion*, ed. David Dickson, Dáire Keogh, and Kevin Whelan (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1993), 194. Teeling's memoir underwent an odd title change in the intervening half-century between its initial publication and the Victorian reprint: it was titled, *Personal Narrative of the Irish Rebellion of 1798*, in the 1828 edition; the Victorian editor saved the original for the running titles in the texts, but re-titled the work on the title page as *History of the Irish Rebellion of 1798*. The Sequel was similarly re-titled.

55 Drennan, *Letter to the Right Honorable William Pitt*, 28, 27.

56 Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 25.

57 Stephen Cox, "Sensibility as Argument," in *Sensibility in Transformation: Creative Resistance to Sentiment from the Augustans to the Romantics*, ed. Syndy McMillen Conger (Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1990), 66; James T. Boulton, *The Language of Politics in the Age of Wilkes and Burke* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 121 (quoted Cox 66).

58 See Thomas Paine, *The Rights of Man* (1791–1792), ed. Henry Collins (London: Penguin, 1983).

59 Janet Todd, *Sensibility: An Introduction* (New York: Methuen, 1986), 5.

60 Gibbons, *Edmund Burke and Ireland*, 99, 118.

61 The advertisement offers "popular works just published by Henry Colburn" and includes *Memoirs of Theobald Wolfe Tone*, *Sir Jonah Barrington's Personal Sketches of His Own Times*, *Sir Jonah Barrington's Historic Anecdotes of Ireland, during His Own Time, with Secret Memoirs of the Union*, *The Correspondence and Diaries of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester* ("comprising minute particulars of the events attending the Revolution"), Lady Morgan's novel about the uprising, *The O'Briens and the O'Flahertys*, and *The Nowlans*, one of the novels by the "O'Hara Family" (the Banims). For a further discussion of history-writing during the debate over Catholic Emancipation, see Chapter 5.
62 Todd, *Sensibility*, 4, 8.
63 John Jones, *An Impartial Narrative of the Most Important Engagements which took place between His Majesty's Forces and the Rebels, During the Irish Rebellion, 1798* (Dublin: John Jones, 1799), 22, 25. Among the suggestive differences between the original 1799 Irish publication and the 1834 revised American edition is the replacement of "Rebels" with "Insurgents" in both the title and the heading of the chapter on Mrs. Tyrrell. The later edition also adds some rather lurid verse. See John Jones, *An Impartial Narrative of the Most Important Engagements Which Took Place Between His Majesty's Forces and the Insurgents, During the Irish Rebellion, in 1798* (South Newberlin: Levi Harris, 1834).
64 Jones, *Impartial Narrative*, 33.
65 William Blake, *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, in *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. David V. Erdman, commentary by Harold Bloom, newly rev. edn. (New York: Doubleday, 1988), 5.2.
66 John Philpot Curran, "Speech of John Philpot Curran, Esq. in Behalf of Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Esq. for a Libel, in the Court of King's-Bench Ireland" (29 January 1794), *Speeches of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, on the Late Very Interesting State Trials*, 3rd edn. (Dublin: J. Stockdale, 1811), 133, 197.
67 Hume, *Inquiry*, 18, 34. Curran also praises "the deep and scrutinizing researches of her [Britain's] Hume" (*Speeches*, 186). Curran's thought closely echoes Hume's on a number of points. His assertion, "physical man is every where the same; it is only the various operation of moral causes that gives variety to the social or individual character and condition" (*Speeches*, 165), for instance, closely echoes Hume's essay, "Of National Characters."
68 Alicia Lefanu, *Tales of a Tourist, Containing The Outlaw and Fashionable Connexions*, 4 vols. (London: A. K. Newman and Co., 1823), I: 117.

Empowering the colonized nation; or, virtue rewarded

1 Mitzi Myers, "Canonical 'Orphans' and Critical *Ennui*: Rereading Maria Edgeworth's Cross-Writing," *Children's Literature* 25 (1997), 116–36.
2 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 86.
3 Ibid., 92.

4 David Lloyd, "Race Under Representation," *Oxford Literary Review* 13 (1991), 87.

5 David Marshall, *The Surprising Effects of Sympathy: Marivaux, Diderot, Rousseau, and Mary Shelley* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 5.

6 See, for instance, William Godwin's *Caleb Williams* (1794), Eliza Fenwick's *Secresy* (1795), Mary Hays' *Memoirs of Emma Courtney* (1796), Mary Brunton's *Discipline* (1814), Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818), and even arguably forward to George Eliot's *Romola* (1863).

7 I discuss this figure and its erotic pull on patriotic desire at greater length and in relation to Morgan's last Irish novel in "National Erotics and Political Theory."

8 Cheryl Herr, "The Erotics of Irishness," *Critical Inquiry* 17 (1990), 7, 8.

9 Jacques Derrida, *Spurs: Nietzsche's Styles*, trans. Barbara Harlow (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 87, 89.

10 James Porter, *Billy Bluff and the 'Squire; Or, A Sketch of the Times* (1796), in *Billy Bluff and The Squire (A Satire On Irish Aristocracy) and Other Writings by Rev. James Porter*, ed. Brendan Clifford (Belfast: Athol Press, 1991), 23, 23–4.

11 William Drennan, "Erin," *Fugitive Pieces*, 1; hereafter cited parenthetically within the text.

12 Although a number of editions of Moore's works have been consulted, all quotations from Moore's *Irish Melodies* are taken from *Irish Melodies*, 14th edn. (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1839), and are hereafter cited parenthetically by page number and abbreviated *IM*.

13 Thomas Bayly, "Erin," *Erin, and Other Poems* (Dublin: Richard Milliken, 1822), 19–20; hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.

14 Roberts, *Schools of Sympathy*, especially 10–11.

15 Marshall, *Surprising Effects of Sympathy*, 48.

16 All references to the novel are taken from Sydney Owenson (Lady Morgan), *The Wild Irish Girl: A National Tale* (1806), ed. Kathryn Kirkpatrick (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1999), hereafter cited parenthetically in the text and abbreviated *WIG*. Other editions were consulted, most notably the excellent *The Wild Irish Girl: A National Tale*, ed. Claire Connolly and Stephen Copley (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2000).

17 Mary Jean Corbett, *Allegories of Union in Irish and English Writing, 1790–1870: Politics, History, and the Family from Edgeworth to Arnold* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). See also, for example, Seamus Deane, "Maria Edgeworth, Romanticism and Utilitarianism," *Gaeliana* 8 (1986), 9–15; Ina Ferris, *The Achievement of Literary Authority: Gender, History, and the Waverley Novels* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); Gary Kelly, *English Fiction of the Romantic Period, 1789–1830* (New York: Longman, 1989), 93; Julia Anne Miller, "Acts of Union: Family Violence and National Courtship in Maria Edgeworth's *Absentee* and Sydney Owenson's *The Wild Irish Girl*," in *Border Crossings: Irish Women Writers and National Identities*, ed. Kathryn Kirkpatrick (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2000), 13–37; Robert Tracy,

"Maria Edgeworth and Lady Morgan: Legality versus Legitimacy," *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 40 (1985), 1–22; and Katie Trumpener, "National Character, National Plots: National Tale and Historical Novel in the Age of Waverley, 1806–1830," *ELH* 60 (1993), 685–732, a version of which appears in her *Bardic Nationalism*. On related figures in sentimental travelogues, see Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

18 Thomas Tracy has recently discussed this aspect of the novel in "The Mild Irish Girl: Domesticating the National Tale," *Éire-Ireland* 39 (2004), 97.

19 Regina Maria Roche, "The Vacant Novel Reader," *London Tales; Or, Reflective Potraits*, 2 vols. (London: John Booth, 1814), I: 92. Jane Austen and Maria Edgeworth are among those women authors deemed much less dangerous to excitable young women (I: 87).

20 Brooke, *Reliques of Irish Poetry*, 233, 189.

21 J. Th. Leerssen, "How *The Wild Irish Girl* Made Ireland Romantic," *Dutch Quarterly Review* 18 (1988): 211–2; on this aspect of the novel, also see Kelly, *English Fiction of the Romantic Period*, 94.

22 Ina Ferris, *The Romantic National Tale and the Question of Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 59.

23 While Natasha Tessone points to such failures of sensibility to suggest that Morgan "appears to ironize, even undermine, her main vehicle for explaining Ireland," I would argue that Morgan rather draws on the then-current distinction between overly stylized sensibility and an internalized and moral sensibility; see Natasha Tessone, "Displaying Ireland: Sydney Owenson and the Politics of Spectacular Antiquarianism," *Éire-Ireland* 37 (2002), 169–86.

24 On this subject, see Wendy Joy Darby's useful *Landscape and Identity: Geographies of Nation and Class in England* (Oxford: Berg, 2000).

25 See William Wordsworth, "The Thorn," *Lyrical Ballads* (1798), *William Wordsworth*, ed. Stephen Gill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 59–66.

26 Brown writes, "The subjects of direct debility are women; persons in a state of inanition; those who have been insufficiently stimulated . . . finally, all persons in a languid state, which has not been preceded by high excitement. . . . On the contrary, those in whom indirect debility is prevalent are males . . . persons who are over stimulated." See John Brown, *Elements of Medicine by John Brown, M.D.*, trans. John Brown, ed. Thomas Beddoes, 2 vols. (London: J. Johnson, 1795), 1: 88–9. Brown's popular physiological model linked mind and body in a "system" that was healthy when in a balanced state of excitement; too much or too little excitement would produce ill-health, or "debility." On the popular excitement caused by Brown's work around 1800, see Paul Youngquist, "Lyrical Bodies: Wordsworth's Physiological Aesthetics," *European Romantic Review* 10 (1999), 154–5.

27 Ferris associates Horatio's fall and initial response when he awakens with Michel De Certeau's notion of "ravishment" in the context of "the eroticism of ethnological encounter," as part of a larger and compelling discussion of the novel's "decentering" effects (*Romantic National Tale*, 60).

28 See John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, ed. John W. Yolton and Jean S. Yolton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 180 (section 116); Mary Wollstonecraft, *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, in *Political Writings*, ed. Janet Todd (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 258.

29 Ferris, *Romantic National Tale*, 66.

30 See Robert Tracy, "Maria Edgeworth and Lady Morgan"; Ferris, *Romantic National Tale*, 48. Despite Ferris's note of warning, readings of the novel's conclusion as "idealized" continue (see, for instance, Thomas Tracy, "The Mild Irish Girl," 91).

31 See John Leslie, *Killarney: A Poem* (London: George Robinson, 1772).

32 Miller, "Acts of Union," 28–9.

33 See Bridget Matthews-Kane, "Gothic Excess and Political Anxiety: Lady Morgan's *The Wild Irish Girl*," *Gothic Studies* 5 (2003), 7–19. Matthews-Kane addresses the action of the conclusion rather than the paternal advice offered in the final pages and interprets the gothic rather broadly, but nevertheless points to an important shift in literary mode towards the end of the novel.

34 Moreover, many of Morgan's early novels, despite following the conventions of romance, do not end happily. In *St. Clair*, her first novel and only known work of prose fiction before *The Wild Irish Girl*, the lovers are permanently parted by the requirement that the heroine form an alliance of property rather than affections – adding further weight to Miller's reading of Glorvina's assent as an economic necessity. Her fourth novel, *The Missionary*, ends with the protagonist dying after decades of mourning his dead lover.

35 Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*, 193–241. Esther Wohlgemut also briefly notes the fostering dimension in relation to the nurse in *Ennui*; see Esther Wohlgemut, "Maria Edgeworth and the Question of National Identity," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 39 (1999), 648.

36 Wohlgemut, "Maria Edgeworth," 647.

37 Maria Edgeworth, *Ennui; Or, Memoirs of the Earl of Glenthorn*, in *Castle Rackrent and Ennui*, ed. Marilyn Butler (London: Penguin, 1992), quoted 159 (Edgeworth's ellipsis); hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.

38 Clíona Ó Gallchoir, "Maria Edgeworth's Revolutionary Morality and the Limits of Realism," *Colby Library Quarterly* 36 (2000), 87–97.

39 For recent treatments of the subversive ambiguity of *Castle Rackrent*, see Marilyn Butler's excellent Introduction, *Castle Rackrent and Ennui* (Toronto: Penguin, 1992); Terry Eagleton, *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger: Studies in Irish Culture* (New York: Verso, 1995), especially 161–8; Declan Kiberd, *Irish Classics* (London: Granta, 2000), 243–64; Beth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Their*

Fathers' Daughters: Hannah More, Maria Edgeworth, and Patriarchal Complicity (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Robert Tracy, "'The Cracked Lookingglass of a Servant': Inventing the Colonial Novel," in *Rereading Texts/Rethinking Critical Presuppositions: Essays in Honour of H. M. Daleski*, ed. Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan, Leona Toker, and Shuli Barzilai (Berlin: Peter Lang, 1997), 197–212.

40 I allude here to the protagonists of Edgeworth's *Ennui* and *Ormond* and a character in *Castle Rackrent*, respectively.

41 Maria Edgeworth, "Lame Jervas," from *Popular Tales*, vol. 2 of *Tales and Novels* (New York: AMS Press, 1967), 12; hereafter cited parenthetically in the text and abbreviated "Jervas."

42 For some illustrative examples, see Ria Omasreiter, "Maria Edgeworth's Tales: A Contribution to the Science of Happiness," in *Functions of Literature: Essays Presented to Erwin Wolff on his Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Ulrich Broich, Theo Stemmler, and Gert Stratmann (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1984), 195–208; Marilyn Butler, Introduction, *Castle Rackrent and Ennui*, esp. 28–31; and Geraldine Friedman, "Rereading 1798: Melancholy and Desire in the Construction of Edgeworth's Anglo-Irish Union," *European Romantic Review* 10 (1999), 175–92.

43 See Julia M. Wright, "Courting Public Opinion: Handling Informers in the 1790s," *Éire-Ireland* 33 (1997–1998), 144–69.

44 The influence of *The Wild Irish Girl* on *Ennui* was probably limited because, as Butler notes, *Ennui* was "drafted in 1804–5, though 'two-thirds rewritten' before publication in 1809," Introduction, *Castle Rackrent and Ennui*, 24. Tracy, however, suggests, "it is probable that the character of Lady Geraldine in *Ennui* represents both a response to and a rejection of a theme Lady Morgan develops in *The Wild Irish Girl*," "Maria Edgeworth and Lady Morgan," 7. Both novelists are responding to the same popular and conventionalized genres and modes – the literature of sensibility, the education novel, and Irish travelogues – and share the same political and cultural contexts, albeit from different theoretical and ideological perspectives, and this perhaps accounts for some of the generic similarities between the two novels. For a recent comparison of the two novels as national tales, see Francesca Lacaita, "The Journey of the Encounter: The Politics of the National Tale in Sydney Owenson's *The Wild Irish Girl* and Maria Edgeworth's *Ennui*," in *Critical Ireland: New Essays in Literature and Culture*, ed. Alan A. Gillis and Aaron Kelly (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), 148–54.

45 See Friedman, "Rereading 1798," for an excellent discussion of Edgeworth's utilitarian regulation of desire (as motive to work) in the novel.

46 "We fear God; we look up with awe to kings; with affection to parliaments. . . . Why? Because when such ideas are brought before our minds, it is *natural* to be affected"; see Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, ed. Conor Cruise O'Brien (London: Penguin, 1986), 182.

Travellers, converts, and demagogues

1 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon, 1977).

2 R. Gregory Van Dussen, "Methodism and Cultural Imperialism in Eighteenth-Century Ireland," *Éire-Ireland* 23 (1988), 29.

3 See Gauri Viswanathan, *Outside the Fold: Conversion, Modernity, and Belief* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), especially 3–19. On the important context of British domestic conversion efforts, see Michael Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion: "The Jewish Question" and English National Identity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995).

4 For further historical information on conversion efforts in India and Ireland, in addition to the various contemporary Indian missionary accounts available, see Jeffrey Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines: Christianity and Colonial Power in India, 1818–1940* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002); Frederick Jeffrey, *Methodism and the Irish Problem* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Methodist Conference, 1973); Van Dussen, "Methodism."

5 Van Dussen, "Methodism," 19; Jeffrey, *Methodism and the Irish Problem*, 9.

6 Foster, *Modern Ireland*, 302.

7 Van Dussen, "Methodism," 21.

8 Ibid., 26.

9 See Deane, *Strange Country*, especially 40–8.

10 Roche, "Hold Your Religion Sacred," *London Tales*, I: 55, 57.

11 Foster notes, "Conversions actually *increased* after the [Penal] laws were moderated in the 1770s," *Modern Ireland*, 206.

12 "Copy of a Letter from the Governor General in Council, to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated 2 November 1807; relating to THE MISSIONARIES," in *Papers Relating to East India Affairs* (Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed, 14 April 1813), 41, 42, 46.

13 François Bernier, *Bernier's Voyage to the East Indies*, in *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World, Digested on a New Plan*, ed. John Pinkerton. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1808–1814), VIII: 170–1.

14 Dow, "Dissertation," III: xci.

15 Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 25; Charles Grant, *Observations, On the State of Society Among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals; and on the means of improving it.—Written chiefly in the Year 1792* (Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 15 June 1813), 77, 79.

16 For a useful introduction to the Rohilla war and British representations of Muslims in its wake, see Pamela Perkins and Shannon Russell, Introduction, *Translation of the Letters of a Hindoo Rajah* (1796), by Elizabeth Hamilton (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1998), 26–8.

17 "Report of the Commission" (9 August 1806), in *Memorial Addressed to the Honourable Court of Directors by Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, Containing an Account of the Mutiny at Vellore, with the Causes and Consequences of that Event* (London: John Booth, 1810), 71.
18 Ibid., 67.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid., 70.
21 "Extract from the Minutes of the Court of Directors, 25th July, 1809," in *Memorial Addressed to the Honourable Court of Directors*, 53; emphasis added.
22 "The Catholic Emancipation Act, 1829," in *On the Constitution of Church and State* by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. John Colmer, vol. 10 of *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, gen. ed. Kathleen Coburn (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 204.
23 [Thomas Moore], "Intolerance: A Satire," *Corruption and Intolerance: Two Poems, with Notes, Addressed to an Englishman by an Irishman*, 2nd edn. (London: J. Carpenter, 1809), 45–6; Thomas D'Arcy McGee, "The Priest Hunter: A Tale of the Irish Penal Laws" (c. 1844), available at http://www.canadiana.org/ECO/mtq?id=ea0d1f4aab&doc=51773, p. 264.
24 Moore, "Intolerance: A Satire," 49–51.
25 Thomas Moore, *A Letter to the Roman Catholics of Dublin* (London: J. Carpenter, 1810), 26–7.
26 Moore, *Memoirs of Captain Rock*, iv.
27 Ibid., xiii.
28 Ibid., xiv.
29 On editions of the *Memoirs*, see Wright, "'The Same Dull Round Over Again,'" 248.
30 Sydney Morgan, *Florence Macarthy: An Irish Tale*, 3rd edn., 4 vols. (London: Clarke [for Colburn], 1819), II: 79–80.
31 Morgan's friend, Cyrus Redding, published an article condemning erroneous accounts of Vellore which appeared in the press soon after the 1857 uprising began; see Cyrus Redding, "Indian Affairs – Vellore Massacre – Lord Canning," *New Monthly Magazine* 111 (1857), 489–500.
32 For an overview of the various editions of *Lalla Rookh*, see Brendan Clifford, "Bibliography," in *The Life and Poems of Thomas Moore (Ireland's National Poet)*, ed. Brendan Clifford (London: Athol Books, 1984), 138.
33 Dennis R. Dean, Introduction, *The Missionary* (1811) (Delmar, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1981), vii. As Javed Majeed notes, Moore first mentions *Lalla Rookh* in September 1811, just a few months after *The Missionary*'s publication; see *Ungoverned Imaginings: James Mill's the History of British India and Orientalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 93.
34 On Moore's oblique references to Ireland in *Lalla Rookh*, see Mohammed Sharafuddin, *Islam and Romantic Orientalism: Literary Encounters with the Orient* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 1994); Majeed, *Ungoverned Imaginings*; and Lennon, *Irish Orientalism*, 156–60. On Morgan's suggestions of parallels between India's condition and Ireland's, see Joseph Lew, "Sidney Owenson

and the Fate of Empire"; Julia M. Wright, Introduction, *The Missionary*; and Lennon, *Irish Orientalism*, 149.

35 This review is excerpted in greater length in the third epigraph of my Introduction; for the full review, see review of *Lalla Rookh; an Oriental Romance*, by Thomas Moore, *Edinburgh Review* 57 (November 1817), 1–35.

36 Thomas Moore, *Lalla Rookh, An Oriental Romance* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1854), x. This passage is regularly cited: see Majeed, *Ungoverned Imaginings*, 96; and Sharafuddin, *Islam and Romantic Orientalism*, 172.

37 Lady Jane Wilde, *Notes on Men, Women, and Books* (London: Ward & Downey, 1891), 226–7.

38 [Thomas Moore], *Intercepted Letters; Or, the Twopenny Post-Bag. To Which are Added, Trifles Reprinted*, by Thomas Brown, the Younger, 2nd edn. (London: J. Carr, 1813), 30, 28*n*; Thomas Moore, "On a Beautiful East-Indian," *Epistles, Odes, and Other Poems* (London: James Carpenter, 1806), 249–50.

39 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 86.

40 See John Drew, *India and the Romantic Imagination* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987), 240–54; Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East*; D. S. Neff, "Hostages to Empire: The Anglo-Indian Problem in *Frankenstein*, *The Curse of Kehama*, and *The Missionary*," *European Romantic Review* 8 (1997), 386–408; Rajan, *Under Western Eyes*, esp. 130–7; Lennon, *Irish Orientalism*, 147–55; Maureen O'Connor, "Sydney Owenson's Wild Indian Girl," *European Legacy* 10 (2005), 21–8; and my own Introduction to the novel.

41 Deane, *Strange Country*, 14.

42 Julia M. Wright, " 'Little England': Anxieties of Space in Mary Shelley's *The Last Man*," in *Mary Shelley: Fictions from Frankenstein to Falkner*, ed. Michael Eberle-Sinatra (New York: St. Martin's / Macmillan Press, 2000), 129–49.

43 See Saree Makdisi, *Romantic Imperialism: Universal Empire and the Culture of Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 23–44.

44 Sydney Owenson (later Lady Morgan), *The Missionary: An Indian Tale* (1811), ed. Julia M. Wright (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2002), 80; hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.

45 Rajan, *Under Western Eyes*, 136, 135.

46 Thomas Moore, *Lalla Rookh, an Oriental Romance* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1817), 183; hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.

47 Other geographical details reinforce the parallel. For instance, "Iran" is frequently set in the "Green Sea" (175, 208) and has "green shores" (209).

48 Majeed, *Ungoverned Imaginings*, 95.

49 There are suggestive echoes of *The Missionary* throughout this narrative. For instance, the Prophet, like Hilarion, takes advantage of a woman's love and emotional distress to initiate her into his religion; Zelica, like Luxima, is stabbed through the heart by a blow meant for an apostate, and then dies in

her lover's arms (though in Moore's poem the blow is struck by the lover himself); both works conclude with a brief coda describing the lover, many years later, still devout and devoted to his dead beloved.

50 Sharafuddin, *Islam and Romantic Orientalism*, 169.
51 Ibid., 174–5, 174.
52 See chapters 16 and 17 of *The Missionary*.
53 Sharafuddin, *Islam and Romantic Orientalism*, 173.
54 Similarly, Irish characters, especially heroes, are "stars" ("How Oft Has the Benshee Cried," *IM*, 30; "While History's Muse," *IM*, 129) and have tears that shine "bright" ("How Oft Has the Benshee Cried," *IM*, 30; "Erin! Oh Erin!" *IM*, 47), a "burning tongue" ("How Oft Has the Benshee Cried," *IM*, 31), and a "soul [that] might have burn'd with a holier flame" in less oppressive times ("Oh! Blame Not the Bard," *IM*, 51); freedom has a "look" that serves as a "light" ("Sublime Was the Warning," *IM*, 41), a "flame" ("Weep On, Weep On," *IM*, 75), and a "pure ray" ("'Tis Gone, and For Ever," *IM*, 136) and is associated with the "full noon" ("Erin! Oh Erin!" *IM*, 47). Moore's notes also remind us that the royal banner of Ireland is "The Sun-burst" ("'Tis Gone, and For Ever," *IM*, 136*n*; "The Wine-Cup is Circling," *IM*, 252*n*).
55 Sharafuddin, *Islam and Romantic Orientalism*, 174.
56 Drennan, "Glendalloch," *Fugitive Pieces*, 104, 102.
57 The *Quarterly*, in a notorious review of Morgan's *Woman: Or, Ida of Athens*, advised the novelist to buy a spelling book, practice her handwriting, "exchange her idle raptures for common sense, practise a little self-denial, and gather a few precepts of humility," and give up writing for domestic life; see review of *Woman: Or, Ida of Athens*, by Sydney Owenson, *Quarterly Review* 1 (1809), 50–2.
58 Viswanathan, *Outside the Fold*, 15.
59 Mangan, "The World – A Ghazel (From the Ottoman)," *Poems*, 217. See also, for example, "Heaven First of All Within Ourselves (From the Ottoman)," *Poems*, 218.
60 For an invaluable elaboration of the intersections between epistemology, empire, and science, see Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, especially the Introduction. On the use of scientific explorers as adjuncts of colonial administration, particularly in the capitalist development of natural resources surveyed by such explorers, see, for instance, David Mackay's *In the Wake of Cook: Exploration, Science, and Empire, 1780–1801* (London: Croom Helm, 1985).
61 Thomas Moore, *Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of Religion*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, 1833), II: 4; hereafter cited parenthetically.
62 On Rammohun Roy's engagement with Christian theological debates in India and Britain, see Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East*, 137–8; and Lynn Zastoupil, "Defining Christians, Making Britons: Rammohun Roy and the Unitarians," *Victorian Studies* 44 (2002), 215–43. More generally, see such recent works as Bruce Carlisle Robertson's "The English Writing

of Raja Rammohan Ray," *A History of Indian Literature in English*, ed. Arvind Krishna Mehrota (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 27–40.

63 William Hamilton Drummond, *A Learned Indian in Search of Religion: A Discourse, Occasioned by the Death of the Rajah, Ram Mohun Roy* (London: Hunter; Dublin: Shaw; Cork: King; Belfast: Archer, 1833), 19. Future references are inserted parenthetically into the text.

64 Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East*, 246*n*.

65 J. Scott Porter, *The Growth of the Gospel: A Sermon, Occasioned by the Lamented Death of the Rajah Rammohun Roy* (Belfast: H. Greer, 1833), 14.

On the frontier: sensibility and colonial wealth in Edgeworth and Lewis

1 Drennan, *Letter to the Right Honorable William Pitt*, 9.

2 Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East*, 243*n*; review of *Dramatic Scenes from Real Life* by Lady Morgan and "Illustrations of the State of Ireland," *Edinburgh Review* 58 (1833), 95–6.

3 Elizabeth Ryves, *The Hastiniad; An Heroic Poem, in Three Cantos* (London: J. Debrett, 1785). For an excellent discussion of Ryves, see Johns-Putra, "Satirising the Courtly Woman," quoted here.

4 Drennan, *Letter to the Right Honorable William Pitt*, 22.

5 Elizabeth Lefanu, *The India Voyage*, 2 vols. (London: G. & J. Robinson, 1804), II: 279–80.

6 Ibid., II: 251, 252.

7 Ibid., II: 298.

8 Conor Cruise O'Brien has traced the complications of Burke's politics in his useful Introduction to *Reflections Upon the Revolution in France* by Edmund Burke (London: Penguin, 1986).

9 Glenn Hooper, "The Wasteland: Writing and Resettlement in Post-Famine Ireland," *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 23 (1997), 65.

10 Morgan, *The O'Briens and the O'Flahertys*, 500.

11 Ibid., 517.

12 Traditionally, scholarly references to Lewis's *Romantic Tales* emphasize the work's derivativeness, dismissing the collection as a series of mere translations or adaptations. "The Anaconda," however, is only loosely based on journalistic reports; see Louis F. Peck, *Life of Matthew G. Lewis* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), 142–3.

13 See Jerrold E. Hogle, "The Ghost of the Counterfeit – and the Closet – in *The Monk*," *Romanticism on the Net 8* (November 1997) http://users.ox.ac.uk/~scat0385/ghost.html; "Frankenstein as Neo-Gothic: From the Ghost of the Counterfeit to the Monster of Abjection," in *Romanticism, History, and the Possibilities of Genre*, ed. Tilottama Rajan and Julia M. Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 176–210; "The Struggle

for a Dichotomy: Abjection in Jekyll and His Interpreters," in *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde after One Hundred Years*, ed. William Veeder and Gordon Hirsch (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1988); and "Stoker's Counterfeit Gothic: *Dracula* and Theatricality at the Dawn of Simulation," in *Bram Stoker: History, Psychoanalysis and the Gothic*, ed. William Hughes and Andrew Smith (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 205–24.

14 See Hogle, "The Ghost of the Counterfeit – and the Closet – in *The Monk*."

15 See Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness*, 227–53.

16 Matthew G. Lewis, "The Anaconda: An East Indian Tale," vol. 2 of *Romantic Tales*, 4 vols. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1808), 32. All future references will be incorporated parenthetically in the text.

17 Everard's story has some parallels to the tale of Beau Wilson, as related in *Love Letters Between a certain late Nobleman and the famous Mr. Wilson*. As Cameron McFarlane puts it, "No one was able to discover the source of Wilson's seemingly limitless riches, and he himself would not reveal it; naturally, he became the talk of the town," *The Sodomite in Fiction and Satire, 1660–1750* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 92. Wilson becomes associated with an imperial get-rich-quick scheme that, like Everard's (though in different ways), went badly awry, namely the South Sea Bubble.

18 Amal Chatterjee, *Representations of India, 1740–1840: The Creation of India in the Colonial Imagination* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 35. Chatterjee discusses such texts as Samuel Foote's *The Nabob* (1778), Helenus Scott's *Adventures of a Rupee* (1782), and Timothy Touchstone's *Tea and Sugar, or the Nabob and the Creole* (1792), but the list can be greatly expanded to include such works as Eliza Fenwick's *Secresy* (1795). Joseph W. Lew also addresses anxieties over colonial agents' conduct in the East; see "The Plague of Imperial Desire: Montesquieu, Gibbon, Brougham, and Mary Shelley's *The Last Man*," in *Romanticism and Colonialism: Writing and Empire, 1780–1830*, ed. Tim Fulford and Peter J. Kitson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 267–9.

19 Mariana Starke, *The Widow of Malabar, a Tragedy, in Three Acts* (London: Minerva, 1791), Act 3, Scene 1, p. 45.

20 Chatterjee, *Representations of India*, 97. For a relevant discussion of another Indian play by Starke, see Jeanne Moskal, "English National Identity in Mariana Starke's 'The Sword of Peace': India, Abolition, and the Rights of Women," in *Women in British Romantic Theatre: Drama, Performance, and Society, 1790–1840*, ed. Catherine Burroughs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 102–31.

21 T. W. Fitzgerald, Prologue, *The Widow of Malabar, a Tragedy, in Three Acts*, 12.

22 Eliza Fenwick, *Secresy; Or, The Ruin on the Rock* (1795), ed. Isobel Grundy (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1994), 66–7.

23 See Chatterjee, *Representations of India*, especially 36–8.

24 See, for instance, John Brown, *The Elements of Medicine*.

25 Fenwick, *Secresy*, 67.
26 Thomas De Quincey, *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*, ed. Alethea Hayter (London: Penguin, 1971), 108–9.
27 For a compelling analysis of trauma and repetition, see Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996). I am grateful to Joel Faflak for pointing out the salience of trauma in this context.
28 See Henry Mackenzie, *The Man of Feeling*, ed. Maureen Harkin (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2003). For an especially rich discussion of the relationship between sensibility and citizenship, see Bruce Burgett, *Sentimental Bodies: Sex, Gender, and Citizenship in the Early Republic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).
29 See Alan Bewell, "*Jane Eyre* and Victorian Medical Geography," *ELH* 63 (1996), 773–808 and his essential *Romanticism and Colonial Disease* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); Debbie Lee, "Yellow Fever and the Slave Trade: Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*," *ELH* 65 (1998), 675–700; and Lew, "The Plague of Imperial Desire."
30 William Beckford, *Vathek*, ed. Roger Lonsdale (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983). Thomas Moore invokes Beckford's Giaour as a metaphor for proselytization in *Memoirs of Captain Rock* (162), and there is some evidence that Beckford was indebted to an Irish-authored text, Frances Sheridan's *History of Nourjahad* (1767).
31 William Blake, Preface to *Milton, The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. David V. Erdman (New York: Doubleday, 1988), 96.
32 George E. Haggerty, *Unnatural Affections: Women and Fiction in the Later 18th Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 110.

"Some neglected children": thwarted gengalogies in colonial history

1 Thomas De Quincey writes, for instance, "The mere antiquity of Asiatic things, of their institutions, histories, modes of faith, &c. is so impressive, that to me the vast age of the race and name overpowers the sense of youth in the individual," *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*, 108.
2 Suleri, *Rhetoric of English India*, 11; Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness*, 229; Julian T. Moynahan, *Anglo-Irish: The Literary Imagination in a Hyphenated Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 111.
3 Moynahan, *Anglo-Irish*, 112.
4 Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present*, vol. 10 of *The Works of Thomas Carlyle in Thirty Volumes*, Centenary Edition (London: Chapman and Hall, 1897; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1969), 39.
5 David Lloyd, *Ireland After History* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 24.
6 See Wright, "'Same Dull Round,'" 243–53.

7 Hogle, "'Frankenstein' as Neo-Gothic," 181.

8 Jane Wilde, *Notes on Men, Women, and Books*, 225. Wilde's view of history bears comparison to Moore's in *Memoirs of Captain Rock*, where the same pattern of imperial repetition and unchanging colonial response is played out; see Wright, "'Same Dull Round.'"

9 J. Th. Leerssen, "Fiction Poetics and Cultural Stereotype: Local Colour in Scott, Morgan, and Maturin," *Modern Language Review* 86 (1991), 277; my emphasis.

10 Moynahan, *Anglo-Irish*, 111.

11 Lloyd, *Anomalous States*, 127, 128. Lloyd here quotes Antonio Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks*.

12 See Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson and Larry Grossberg (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 271–313.

13 Lloyd, *Anomalous States*, 128.

14 Ibid., 155.

15 For a brief survey of Maturin's influence on such writers as Sir Walter Scott, William Thackeray, the Rossettis, Oscar Wilde, Wilkie Collins, Sheridan Lefanu, R. L. Stevenson, Edgar Allan Poe, Victor Hugo, Charles Baudelaire, and Honoré de Balzac, see Alethea Hayter, Introduction, in *Melmoth the Wanderer: A Tale* (Toronto: Penguin, 1984), 27–8, and Chris Baldick, Introduction, in *Melmoth the Wanderer*, ed. Douglas Grant (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989), vii. Moynahan summarizes the novel's canonical position, asserting that the novel "is probably the greatest of Gothic romances in English, and it is certainly a major work of Anglo-Irish literature," *Anglo-Irish*, 116.

16 Review of *Melmoth the Wanderer*, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 8 (Nov. 1820), 161.

17 Eagleton, *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger*, 171–2.

18 Lloyd, *Anomalous States*, 128.

19 Moynahan, *Anglo-Irish*, 111. For the most sustained discussion of early Anglo-Irish gothic in relation to its sociopolitical encodings, see Margot Gayle Backus, *The Gothic Family Romance: Heterosexuality, Child Sacrifice, and the Anglo-Irish Colonial Order* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

20 On these material resonances with the Gothic, see Moynahan, *Anglo-Irish*, 111; and Leerssen, "Fiction Poetics and Cultural Stereotype," 277. For a highly suggestive discussion of ruins in Irish gothic, see Ferris, *Romantic National Tale*, 102–26.

21 Luke Gibbons, *Transformations in Irish Culture* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1996), 142. See also Eagleton's pithy remark, "Language is strategic for the oppressed, but representational for their rulers," *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger*, 171–2.

22 Sydney Morgan, review of *Past and Present* by Thomas Carlyle, *Athenaeum* 811 (13 May 1843), 453–4.

23 The *Athenaeum Index* attributes over 125 articles to Morgan definitively, and about twenty-five tentatively. The *Wellesley Index* ascribes just ten articles in the *New Monthly Magazine* to Morgan, but it is remarkably conservative on the subject. While the scores of articles signed "M" or "μ" are all attributed to her husband, Dr. T. Charles Morgan, it only ascribes to Lady Morgan articles specifically signed "Lady Morgan" or, in the case of the anonymous series on "Absenteeism," later published under her name. However, Cyrus Redding, associate editor of the *New Monthly Magazine* during nearly all of Thomas Campbell's editorship (1821–1830), refers to her as a notable contributor to the journal in his obituary "Lady Morgan," *New Monthly Magazine* 116 (1859), 206.

24 Sydney Morgan, "Absenteeism," Part I, *New Monthly Magazine* 10 (1824), 481–95; "Absenteeism," Part II, *New Monthly Magazine* 11 (1825), 43–54; "Absenteeism," Part III, *New Monthly Magazine* 11 (1825), 162–76; "Irish Lords Lieutenant," *New Monthly Magazine* 25 (1829), 105–17. The single-volume edition *Absenteeism* (London: Colburn, 1825) is virtually identical to the periodical series; Morgan added a dedication by herself and a Preface by her husband, Sir T. Charles Morgan, broke up a few paragraphs, and slightly altered the punctuation, but otherwise it is, as the Preface indicates, a "reprint" (*Absenteeism*, ix). All references to the text will cite (parenthetically) the periodical version of "Absenteeism," in part because the division of the work is relevant to my argument here and in part because it is significant, especially given her argument in "Absenteeism," that the essay was first published as a series of articles in a liberal periodical.

25 Jon Klancher, "Godwin and the Genre Reformers: On Necessity and Contingency in Romantic Narrative Theory," in *Romanticism, History, and the Possibilities of Genre: Re-forming Literature, 1789–1837*, ed. Tilottama Rajan and Julia M. Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 29.

26 Wright, "Same Dull Round," 247.

27 For a useful discussion of the responsiveness of periodicals in the British radical context, see Kevin Gilmartin, *Print Politics: The Press and Radical Opposition in Early Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

28 Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 35.

29 Sydney Morgan, review of *The United Irishmen, their Lives and Times*, by R. R. Madden, *The Athenaeum* 768 (1842), 629.

30 Ibid.

31 See note 42 in the Introduction.

32 Ferris, *Romantic National Tale*, 99.

33 Jon P. Klancher, *The Making of English Reading Audiences, 1790–1832* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987).

34 Morgan, "Irish Lords Lieutenant," 105.

35 Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, 30–1.

36 Klancher, *Making of English Reading Audiences*, 66–8.

37 Morgan, review of *The United Irishmen*, 627.
38 Moore, *Memoirs of Captain Rock*, 30*n*.
39 Backus, *Gothic Family Romance*, 125.
40 Kathleen Fowler, "Hieroglyphics in Fire: *Melmoth the Wanderer*," *Studies in Romanticism* 25 (1986), 525. See also Jack Null, "Structure and Theme in *Melmoth*," *Papers on Language and Literature* 13 (1977), 136–47.
41 Charles Robert Maturin, *Melmoth the Wanderer: A Tale*, ed. Alethea Hayter (London: Penguin, 1984), 41; hereafter abbreviated *MW* with references incorporated parenthetically into the text.
42 Maturin was a Church of Ireland curate, and descended from expatriate Huguenots. For varying discussions of Maturin's Huguenot background, see Seamus Deane, "Fiction and Politics: Irish Nineteenth-Century National Character 1790–1900," in *The Writer as Witness: Literature as Historical Evidence* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1987), 83 and Moynahan, *Anglo-Irish*, 113.
43 Joseph W. Lew, " 'Unprepared for Sudden Transformations': Identity and Politics in *Melmoth the Wanderer*," *Studies in the Novel* 26 (1994), 189.
44 For further discussion of *Melmoth the Wanderer* in the context of the "crisis over property," see Julia M. Wright, "Devouring the Disinherited: Familial Cannibalism in Maturin's *Melmoth the Wanderer*," in *Eating Their Words: Cannibalism and the Boundaries of Cultural Identity*, ed. Kristen Guest (Albany: SUNY Press, 2001), 79–105.
45 Cleeve, *Dictionary of Irish Writers*, 2: 54–5.
46 Moynahan, *Anglo-Irish*, 111; Leerssen, "Fiction Poetics and Cultural Stereotype," 277.
47 Gibbons, *Transformations in Irish Culture*, 142. Gibbons' argument bears some comparison to W. E. B. Dubois's notion of "double-consciousness" among African-Americans; see Dubois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), in *W. E. B. Dubois: Writings*, ed. Nathan Huggins (New York: Modern Library of America, 1986), 364–5.
48 Shirley's play "was first performed c. 1640" and represented "Patrick's conversion of a princess"; see Bridget McCormack, *Perceptions of St. Patrick in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), 96. It would have been available to Maturin in a 1750 edition.
49 Lew, " 'Unprepared for Sudden Transformations,' " 183.
50 I allude here to Hogle's use of Kristeva's notion of the abject, as in "Frankenstein as 'Neo-Gothic.' "
51 See, to take just a few examples, abolitionist verse by Robert Merry (who used the pseudonym Della Crusca), Thomas Campbell, and Robert Southey; critiques of excessive politeness in Jane Austen's fiction (from *Northanger Abbey* to *Pride and Prejudice*); and feminist novels by Mary Wollstonecraft and her followers in the 1790s, particularly Wollstonecraft's *Maria*, Mary Hays' *Memoirs of Emma Courtney*, and Eliza Fenwick's *Secresy*.
52 Foster, *Modern Ireland*, 110.

53 Denis Florence MacCarthy, "Afghanistan" (1850), originally published in *Ballads, Poems, and Lyrics, Original and Translated* (Dublin: James M'Glashan, 1850), but taken here from the only modern edition in "Writing Ireland into Europe: An Edition of Three Nineteenth-Century Poems," ed. Julia M. Wright, *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 30 (2004): 61–4; hereafter cited parenthetically in the text by line number and, for the notes, by page number.

54 Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "Fears in Solitude," *Coleridge: Poems*, ed. John Beer (London: Dent, 1982), 1, 2, 34–8.

55 Suleri, *Rhetoric of British India*, 10.

56 Ibid., 11.

57 MacCarthy's note to these lines refers to the "gigantic idols of Bamean . . . cut in alto-relievo on the face of the hill, one about 120 feet high" (64*n*). These are almost certainly the Buddhas of Bamiyan, destroyed by the Taliban in March 2001.

58 According to MacCarthy's note, "The showers of blood which caused so much terror formerly were caused by the excrements of insects"; the note continues to detail an incident in 1553 when "a vast multitude of butterflies" seemed to have "rained blood" in Germany (63*n*).

Bram stoker and oscar wilde: all points east

1 Hogle, "Stoker's Counterfeit Gothic," 205.

2 William Cowper, "The Task," *Poetical Works*, ed. H. S. Milford, 4th edn. with corrections and additions by Norma Russell (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), IV, 114–19.

3 Leaving aside the vexed question of to what degree the Thuggee cult existed prior to and independent of Victorian British reports of it, Taylor's text not only offers an excuse for colonial management but also simplifies the problems of such management. Its representation of Thuggee as widely but uniformly practiced turns India into a place where violent deaths are governed by the rituals and codes of the Thuggee cult, not variously caused by rebel groups, violent criminals, and individuals with personal motives for homocide. Recalling the representation of the Rockites or the Whiteboys in Ireland, the novel rationalizes a diffuse list of violent acts with a variety of motives into a set of acts orchestrated by one group that can be known and thus stamped out – a strategy with resonances for our own century's "War on Terror." See Philip Meadows Taylor, *Confessions of a Thug* (1839), ed. Patrick Brantlinger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

4 See Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 66–84.

5 Simon Joyce, "Sexual Politics and the Aesthetics of Crime: Oscar Wilde in the Nineties," *ELH* 69 (2002), 501–23. All quotations from Wilde's novel are taken from *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, ed. Isobel Murray (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), and are hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.

6 Oscar Wilde, "The Soul of Man Under Socialism," *Complete Works of Oscar Wilde* (New York: HarperCollins, 1994), 1178. For an excellent discussion of the debates into which Wilde's essay intervenes, see Josephine M. Guy, " 'The Soul of Man under Socialism': A (Con)Textual History," in *Wilde Writings: Contextual Conditions*, ed. Joseph Bristow (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 59–85.

7 Curtis Marez makes passing mention of the importance of De Quincey's *Confessions* to the nineteenth-century representation of opium as a figure of national contamination; see "The Other Addict: Reflections on Colonialism and Oscar Wilde's Opium Smoke Screen," *ELH* 64 (1997), 275.

8 For an excellent discussion of the gothic debts of De Quincey's *Confessions* on terms relevant here, see Cannon Schmitt, *Alien Nation: Nineteenth-Century Gothic Fictions and English Nationality* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 46–75. On the gothic debts of Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, see, for instance, discussions of the novel in relation to Stevenson's *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, including Robert Mighall, Ch. 5 of *A Geography of Victorian Gothic Fiction: Mapping History's Nightmares* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) and Isobel Murray, "Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Oscar Wilde," *Durham University Journal* 79 (1987), 311–9.

9 Barrell, *Infection of Thomas De Quincey*, 10–1. On more general forms of classifying peoples as a means of instituting colonial values and varying the modes of colonial control, see David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 61–75.

10 See, for instance, Mary Elizabeth Braddon's novel, *John Marchmont's Legacy*, in which the hero returns from a spectacular military career in India to battle the domestic threat of a villain who is repeatedly identified with the East End of London and oriental luxury. For further discussion of the orientalist representation of the East End, see Barry Milligan, *Pleasures and Pains: Opium and the Orient in Nineteenth-Century British Culture* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995).

11 Marez, "Other Addict," 266.

12 Anita Levy, *Reproductive Urges: Popular Novel-Reading, Sexuality, and the English Nation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 151–2.

13 Wilkie Collins, *The Moonstone*, ed. Steven Farmer (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1999); Arthur Conan Doyle, "The Ring of Thoth," *The Captain of the Polestar and Other Tales* (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), 289–315; Robert Louis Stevenson, "The Rajah's Diamond," *The Complete Short Stories of Robert Louis Stevenson with a Selection of the Best Short Novels*, ed. Charles Neider (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969), 110–95. On concerns about nabobs returning from India with wealth that would disrupt the English social order, see Chatterjee, *Representations of India, 1740–1840*, especially 36–8, and Chapter Four of the present study. See Georges Bataille, *The Theory of Religion*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Zone Books, 1992), 40.

14 Marez, "Other Addict," 279.
15 Spurr, *Rhetoric of Empire*, 98.
16 Ibid., 99.
17 Ibid., 94–5.
18 Marez, "Other Addict," 277.
19 See Mary Elizabeth Braddon, *John Marchmont's Legacy* (1863), ed. Toru Sasaki and Norman Page (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). The villain of the novel, Paul Marchmont, is "a thorough-bred Cockney" (337) whose long poverty in London's East End gives him "all the instincts of a sybarite" (457), sybarite being a term of Greek origin with orientalist connotations.
20 Wilde, "The Soul of Man," 1174.
21 For a nuanced reading of whiteness in *Dracula*, see Patricia McKee, "Racialization, Capitalism, and Aesthetics in Stoker's *Dracula*," *Novel* 36 (2002), 42–60.
22 Wilde, "The Soul of Man," 1176.
23 Wilde's notion of "an Individualism that is false" predates by two years Engels' formulation of the broadly similar concept of "false consciousness"; see "Engels to F. Mehring in Berlin" (14 July 1893), in *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Selected Works* (New York: International Publishers, 1968), 700.
24 See Kathleen L. Spencer, "Purity and Danger: Dracula, the Urban Gothic, and the Late Victorian Degeneracy Crisis," *ELH* 59 (1992), 197–225.
25 The 1912 revision of the novel offers a more comforting ending; see David Glover, *Vampires, Mummies, and Liberals: Bram Stoker and the Politics of Popular Fiction* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), 91–2; and Bram Stoker, *Jewel of Seven Stars*, ed. David Glover (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 212–14.
26 Hogle, "Stoker's Counterfeit Gothic," 222.
27 See Stephen D. Arata, "The Occidental Tourist: *Dracula* and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonization," *Victorian Studies* 33 (1990), 621–45.
28 Bram Stoker, *The Lair of the White Worm* (London: W. Foulsham, 1911), 97; hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.
29 David Glover, " 'Why White?' On Worms and Skin in Bram Stoker's Later Fiction," *Gothic Studies* 2 (2000), 357.
30 See, for instance, David Roediger, *Towards the Abolition of Whiteness: Essays on Race, Politics, and Working Class History* (New York: Verso, 1994); Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*; Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*. For a suggestive discussion of the racial and gender implications of the worm's whiteness, see Glover, " 'Why White?' "
31 See Arata, "The Occidental Tourist."
32 Glover, " 'Why White?' " 358.
33 Glover, *Vampires, Mummies, and Liberals*, 57, 56–7.
34 William Hughes, " 'To Build Together a New Nation': Colonising Europe in Bram Stoker's *Lady of the Shroud*," *Gothic Studies* 5 (2003), 43–4.

35 Frederic Jameson, "Modernism and Imperialism," in *Nationalism, Colonialism, and Literature*, ed. Seamus Deane (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 46. Jameson focuses in this essay on the post-1884 period of empire building; 1884 is "the year of the Berlin Conference, which parceled Africa out" (44) and corresponds nearly to the start of Stoker's career as a published author in 1882.

36 Glover, *Vampires, Mummies, and Liberals*, 53. Milbank considers the felicitious cross-cultural marriage in Stoker's fiction in relation to Maturin's novel, *The Albigenses*, "Powers Old and New," 14–6.

37 Lisa Hopkins, "Crowning the King, Mourning his Mother: *The Jewel of the Seven Stars* and *The Lady of the Shroud*," in *Bram Stoker: History, Psychoanalysis* and *the Gothic*, ed. William Hughes and Andrew Smith (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 140–1.

38 See Jimmie E. Cain, Jr., "*The Lady of the Shroud*: A Novel of Balkan Anglicization," *Balkanistica* 12 (1999), 21–38.

39 Glover, *Vampires, Mummies, and Liberals*, 53. On the conservative sexual politics of the novel, see Victor Sage, "Exchanging Fantasies: Sex and the Serbian Crisis in *The Lady of the Shroud*," in *Bram Stoker: History, Psychoanalysis and the Gothic*, ed. William Hughes and Andrew Smith (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 116–33; and Hopkins, "Crowning the King," 143–4. Discussions of Stoker's hostility to the New Woman in *Dracula* are legion, but Glover has a usefully wide and complex analysis of Stoker's responses to "the Woman Question," *Vampires, Mummies, and Liberals*, 100–35.

40 For a brief discussion of the ways in which the first meeting "is teasingly erotic," see Sage, "Exchanging Fantasies," 118–22.

41 Ibid., 127.

42 Carol A. Senf, "*The Lady of the Shroud*: Stoker's Successor to *Dracula*," *Essays in Arts and Sciences* 19 (1990), 93–4; Sage, "Exchanging Fantasies."

43 For a brief discussion of similarities between *Snake's Pass* and *Lair of the White Worm*, see Glover, " 'Why White?' " 357.

44 Stoker, *Snake's Pass* (1890) (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1891), 349.

45 Ibid., 294.

46 Thomas D'Arcy McGee, *Historical Sketches of O'Connell and his Friends, with a Glance at the Future Destiny of Ireland*, 3rd edn. (Boston: Donahoe and Rohan, 1845), 204.

47 Stoker, *Snake's Pass*, 352.

48 On the relationship between Stoker and Wilde, see Talia Schaffer, " 'A Wilde Desire Took Me': The Homoerotic History of *Dracula*," *ELH* 61 (1994), 381–425.

49 For a suggestive discussion of the gothic and a related family dynamic, see Backus, *Gothic Family Romance*.

50 The eventually successful third Home Rule bill was introduced in 1912 – three years after the publication of *The Lady of the Shroud* and a few months

after the publication of *The Lair of the White Worm*. After more twists and turns than a Stoker plot, the bill finally passed in 1914. On Edgeworth's handling of colonial orphans, see Chapter 2.

Conclusion: the wild irish boy in india

1 Shortly after the publication of Morgan's *The Wild Irish Girl*, Charles Robert Maturin published a novel with the imitative title, *The Wild Irish Boy* (1808).
2 For a suggestive inaugural reading of Kim's significance in relation to "whiteness," see Satya P. Mohanty, "Drawing the Color Line: Kipling and the Culture of Colonial Rule," in *The Bounds of Race: Perspectives on Hegemony and Resistance*, ed. Dominick LaCapra (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 311–43.
3 Rudyard Kipling, *Kim*, ed. Alan Sandison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 1; hereafter cited parenthetically.
4 The Irishness of Kim's mother is often overlooked. For instance, Anne McClintock, who otherwise offers a compelling account of Kim's "racial ambiguity," characterizes Kim's mother as "an English nursemaid"(69). Leerssen is among the few to have noted Kim's Irish parentage, "Irish Studies," 172.
5 Mohanty, "Drawing the Color Line," 319.
6 On Kim's complex identity, see, to take just a few examples, Mohanty, "Drawing the Color Line"; Leerssen, "Irish Studies" 172; Juniper Ellis, "Writing Race: Education and Ethnography in Kipling's *Kim*," *The Centennial Review* 39 (1995), 315–29; J. Mukherjee, "The Relevance of the Irish Aspect in Rudyard Kipling's *Kim*," *Literary Criterion* 22 (1987), 41–5; Jeffrey Meyers, "The Quest for Identity in *Kim*," *Texas Studies in Language and Literature* 12 (1970), 101–10; Judith Plotz, "The Empire of Youth: Crossing and Double-Crossing Cultural Barriers in Kipling's *Kim*," *Children's Literature* 20 (1992), 111–31; Don Randall, "Ethnography and the Hybrid Boy in Rudyard Kipling's 'Kim,'" *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature* 27 (1996), 79–104.
7 See Rudyard Kipling, "The White Man's Burden" (1899), *Rudyard Kipling's Verse* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1940).
8 See Suleri, *Rhetoric of English India*, 111–31; and Mohanty, "Drawing the Color Line."
9 Mohanty reads Kim as one of Kipling's child characters "who embody values and qualities that are essential for white colonial rulers," "Drawing the Color Line," 326. But my emphasis on those passages which depict Kim as Irish, uncertain about his membership in the ruling class, and passionate stresses Kim's disruption of imperial ideals on terms resonant with his membership in colonized groups, both by birth (Irish) and by education (Indian).
10 Drennan, *Protest from One of the People of Ireland*, 3, 4.
11 Ibid., 9.

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